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JPRS-UKO-84-009

11 May 1984

USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 3, February 1984

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11 May 1984

USSR REPORT

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 3, February 1984

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATION FROM KOMMUNIST, No 3
February 1984

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : February 1984

Signed to press : 15 Feb 84

Copies : 923,000

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"Kommunist", 1984

INFORMATION ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD131114 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 3-4

[Text] An extraordinary plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was held today.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, opened the plenary meeting on behalf of the Politburo of the Central Committee.

In connection with the death of Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the participants in the plenary meeting observed a minute of sorrowful silence in tribute to the memory of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov.

The plenum of the Central Committee pointed out that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people have suffered a grave loss. An outstanding leader of the communist party and the Soviet state, an ardent patriot, Leninist, and tireless fighter for peace has passed away.

Holding at the party's will the most important posts in the party and the government, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov devoted all of his energies, knowledge and enormous practical experience to the implementation of the party's policy, to strengthening its ties with the masses and to strengthening the Soviet Union's economic and defense might.

Yu. V. Andropov devoted much attention to the implementation of the policy outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee for a comprehensive intensification of production, acceleration of scientific-technical progress, perfection of the management of the national economy, enhancing the responsibility of cadres, organization and discipline, for a steady rise in the material and spiritual standards of life of the people.

Yu. V. Andropov made a profound contribution to the development of all-round cooperation between the countries of the socialist commonwealth, to the consolidation of unity and cohesion of the international communist and working class movement and to the support of the peoples' rightful struggle for freedom and independence. The Leninist foreign policy course of our party, the course of eliminating the threat of nuclear war, of giving a firm rebuff

to imperialism's aggressive designs, of consolidating peace and security of the peoples was consistently and persistently conducted in the international arena under his direction.

The plenary meeting emphasized that in these mournful days the communists, the Soviet people as a whole, are drawing their ranks still closer around the Leninist Central Committee of the party, and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. They are fully determined to selflessly fight for the implementation of the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the party.

The participants in the Central Committee plenum expressed deep condolences to relatives and friends of the deceased.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee considered the question of election of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

On the instruction of the Central Committee Politburo, a speech on this question was made by Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He made the motion to elect Comrade K. U. Chernenko as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum unanimously elected Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Then a speech at the plenary meeting was made by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K. U. Chernenko. He expressed cordial gratitude for the high confidence accorded to him by the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko assured the CPSU Central Committee and the communist party that he will devote all his energies, knowledge and experience for successful implementation of tasks of communist construction in our country, for ensuring continuity in solution of the tasks, set by the 26th CPSU Congress, the tasks of further consolidating the USSR's economic and defensive might, of raising the well-being of the Soviet people, of consolidating peace, in implementation of the Leninist domestic and foreign policy, conducted by the communist party and the Soviet state.

This rounded off the work of the Central Committee Plenum.

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CSO: 1802/9

N. A. TIKHONOV 13 FEBRUARY 1984 SPEECH AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD131344 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 5-6

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The communist party, our people, the world communist and workers' movement have suffered a heavy loss. Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, an outstanding figure of our party and Soviet state, ardent patriot of our socialist motherland, indefatigable fighter for peace and communism, has passed away.

Yuriy Vladimirovich headed the Central Committee for a brief period, a little more than 1 year. But how much was done during that time. Following the course of the 26th Congress, creatively enriching it, the party, guided by the CPSU Central Committee, secured the country's confident advancement in all directions of economic and social progress.

Yuriy Vladimirovich's activity was diverse, he devoted all his strength and knowledge to serving the people's interest at responsible posts assigned to him by the party.

Fresh in the memory of each of us are Yuriy Vladimirovich's meaningful statements at the November 1982 and subsequent plenums of the Central Committee which set forth a clear program of realizing the advantages of socialism and resolving topical problems of communist construction.

He skillfully and vigorously guided the activity of the Central Committee and the Politburo in mobilizing communists and all working people to developing the economy at a faster pace, perfecting the management of the national economy and consolidating organization and discipline.

Relying on collective experience, keenly sensing the demands of social development, Yuriy Vladimirovich made a great personal contribution to the party's work on increasing the might of the Soviet state and raising the well-being of the Soviet people.

He persistently fought for the consistent implementation of the party's peaceful foreign policy course, the course towards averting the threat of thermonuclear war, towards giving a resolute rebuff to imperialism's aggressive machinations.

We all keenly experience great sorrow that has befallen our party, all Soviet people. But it is the duty of communists-Leninists to rally our ranks ever closer, to strengthen the unity of the party and the people.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo expresses firm confidence that the Central Committee plenum will demonstrate to the entire country, to the whole world the party's indomitable will to advance forward along the correct Leninist path in a firm and consistent way.

The line worked out by the historic 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee toward intensifying production, raising the efficiency of the economy, accelerating scientific and technical progress, implementing the Food Program and meeting ever more fully the material and spiritual requirements of the Soviet people will be persistently and purposefully carried out.

The party will continue to strengthen the unbreakable alliance of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia, the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our motherland.

The CPSU and the Soviet state will always be true to the ideals of peace, friendship and cooperation between the peoples of all countries, to the ideals of social progress.

Dear comrades:

The Politburo has discussed the question of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and unanimously asked me to propose to the plenum to elect Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko as general secretary of the Central Committee of our party.

Konstantin Ustinovich had a wealth of experience in his life. He knew hard peasant labor, service as a soldier, and the everyday activities of a rural party raykom.

For many years he did responsible party work in the Krasnoyarsk, Penza and Moldavian party organizations and at the CPSU Central Committee's apparatus.

Wherever Konstantin Ustinovich worked, he has always been a talented organizer of the masses, an ardent propagandist of the Marxist-Leninist ideas, an unshakeable fighter for putting into life the policy of our great party.

The communists, the Soviet people know Konstantin Ustinovich as a prominent leader of the communist party and the Soviet state, a true association of such Leninist-type leaders as Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov were.

Working at the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Konstantin Ustinovich has done much for developing and firmly establishing the Leninist style of leadership of the party and of the state, which is characterized by a profound understanding of the key issues of social

development, a realistic approach to evaluating what has been achieved and outstanding problems, high exactingness on the cadres, and at the same time a well-wishing attitude to them, reliance on the initiative and experience of the working people.

Notable for Konstantin Ustinovich is the ability to rouse people by his energy and innovatory attitude to any matter, the ability to rally comrades for teamwork.

I would wish to point out specially his permanent need to be in contact with the masses, his attention to every human destiny, whether it be a talented scientist, a noted metallurgical industry worker, the mother of a soldier or a young writer.

Konstantin Ustinovich has to his credit an important role in developing major theoretical problems of perfecting the developed socialist society, of creating an integral concept of long-range ideological activities of the CPSU.

Konstantin Ustinovich takes a most active part in outlining the strategic trends of our peaceable foreign policy, in the activities of the CPSU for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the international communist and working class movement.

Our military workers know how much time Konstantin Ustinovich devotes to questions relating to strengthening the country's defense capacity, fitting out the armed forces with modern technology, and to ideological training of the personnel of the army and the navy.

The Politburo is confident that in the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko will head the combat headquarters of our party in a worthy manner.

The communists, all Soviet people, who are closely rallied around the Leninist Central Committee and its leading nucleus, equipped with a clear and explicit program for action outlined by the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of its Central Committee, optimistically look into the future and are resolved to ensure by their selfless labor effort a further flourishing of our great homeland.

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CSO: 1802/9

K. U. CHERNENKO SPEECH AT 13 FEBRUARY 1984 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD131150 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 7-13

[Text] Dear Comrades!

I cordially thank the members of the Central Committee for the great honor bestowed on me--election as general secretary of the Central Committee. I fully realize the enormous responsibility which is placed on me. I understand what important and exceptionally difficult work is to be done. I assure the Central Committee and the party that I will exert every effort, use all of my knowledge and experience to live up to this trust, to carry on together with you the principled policy of our party, which has been steadily and persistently implemented by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov.

The talent of an organizer, a clear creative mind, fidelity to Leninism in theory and in politics, a keen sense of the new and the ability to accumulate the living experience of the masses, irreconcilability to all, that is alien to our world outlook and way of life, to our morality, personal charm and modesty all won for Yuriy Vladimirovich tremendous prestige and respect among the party and the people.

The party entrusted to him difficult and responsible fields of work. Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's best political and human qualities have been particularly vividly revealed in the posts of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. He spared no effort wishing to be equal to the tasks facing him.

Yuriy Vladimirovich made a weighty personal contribution to the collective activities of the Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo for outlining a comprehensively weighed and realistic policy of the party at the present stage--a policy of perfecting developed socialism. It was under his leadership that the November 1982, June and December 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums were held and became important milestones in the life of the party and the people. The political line of the 26th CPSU Congress has been further creatively developed and concretized in the decisions of the plenums.

Yu. V. Andropov devoted much strength and energy to the efforts to ensure peaceful conditions for the creative labor effort of the Soviet people, for strengthening the positions of socialism in the international arena.

Yuriy Vladimirovich understood well that the source of the party's prestige lies in the fact that it has gained and strengthens its leading position, its honorary vanguard role by selfless service to the people, the ability to express precisely the interests of the working people and equip them with a correct Marxist-Leninist program for actions.

The convincing evidence of the correctness of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, its conformity with the requirements and spirit of the times is the ardent nationwide support for this policy. The party firmly marches on its chosen path--the path of communist creativity and pace.

This is how it was in the past. This will be always so!

But we all realize comrades, that the wish to advance on that path is not enough. We must be able not only to set correct aims, but also to work persistently for their attainment, overcoming any difficulties. It is necessary to evaluate realistically what has been achieved, without exaggerating and also without belittling them. Only this approach prevents mistakes in politics, the temptation to indulge in wishful thinking, makes it possible to see clearly, as Lenin said, "What we have done and what we have not...yet done" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 417.

Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov was destined, comrades, to work at the head of our party and state for a short, painfully short time. We will all miss him. He passed away at the very height of a great and tense work aimed at powerfully accelerating the development of the national economy, at overcoming the difficulties which our country encountered at the turn of the 1980s. But we all know what a large amount of work our party has succeeded in doing over that time, how many new and fruitful things have been introduced and reaffirmed in practice. Carrying on and further advancing by collective efforts the work started under the leadership of Yuriy Vladimirovich is the best way of paying tribute to his memory, of ensuring continuity in politics.

Continuity is not an abstract notion, but a living, real cause. And its essence comes down primarily to moving forward, without stopping. This implies advancement relying on everything that has been earlier accomplished, creatively enriching it, concentrating collective thought, energy of the communists, of the working class and of all people on the unresolved tasks, on the key problems of the present and future. All this imposes a deep obligation upon us.

The strength of our party is in its unity, adherence to Marxism-Leninism, ability to develop and guide the creative activity of the masses, to unite them ideologically and organizationally, under the guidance of the tested Leninist principles and methods. You know, comrades, what immense attention our Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo and Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov paid of late to questions of perfecting the work of the state apparatus and improving the style of party leadership.

One of them is a clear distinction between the functions of party committees and the tasks of state and economic bodies, elimination of duplication in

their performance. This is a major issue of political significance. Frankly speaking, not everything has been properly adjusted here. It happens that workers at soviets, ministries and enterprises do not display the necessary independence, but shift on party bodies the matters which they should handle themselves. The practice of substituting for economic managers disenchant the cadres. Moreover, this harbors the danger of weakening the role of the party committee as a body of political guidance. For party committees, handling economic issues means, above all, being concerned with people engaged in the economy. This must always be borne in mind.

Comrades, a month and a half ago, at the December Plenum of the Central Committee, we gave an all-round appraisal of the state of affairs in the field of the country's social and economic development. The resolution it adopted emphasized the importance of maintaining the tempo achieved and general intent to get things going, steadily enhancing the level of party and state guidance over the economy, actively developing positive processes and imparting to them a stable character. It is our direct duty to implement the plenum's instructions in a consistent way.

The whole of our experience confirms: The most important source of the party's strength was, is, and will be its contact with the masses, civic activity of millions of working people, their practical attitude to production matters, to problems of public life.

It is the duty of the communist party to constantly check its course, its decisions and actions primarily with the thoughts of the working class, with its great sociopolitical and class intuition. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin always highly valued directness, clear judgment of the working man, substantiated by life experience, keenly heeded his opinion and appraisal of the events and people, sought and found in them answers to the most topical issues.

Even today it is the prime obligation and the profound internal requirement of each communist-manager to listen to comments coming from the workers' milieu, from the leading edge of socialist construction, and to take advice from working people.

Being able to see in a timely way and back the people's initiative, and that on a broad scale--from practical, creative attitude to work at one's place of employment to active participation in managing the affairs of the state, society--constitutes the largest, we must say, inexhaustible reserve of our progress. Our economy owes every one of its major accomplishments, to a varying degree, to creative initiatives of work collectives, their own plans, known as counterplans.

The broad response by the country's work collectives to the December Plenum's call for raising by 1 percent above plan labor productivity and reducing additionally production costs by 0.5 percent gives rise to profound satisfaction. The patriotic enthusiasm, vigor and businesslike approach with which the working people, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations have started to implement this task inspire confidence that successes will be ensured.

I think it is necessary to consider the question of directing all means and resources that will be obtained as a result, and they will not be insignificant, to improving the conditions of work and life of Soviet people, medical services and housing construction. This would fully meet the supreme goal of party policy--all-round concern for the benefit of man.

In general, comrades, we must, probably, think of providing better material and moral incentive to working people for creative initiatives and innovation.

Social justice underlines the very foundation of the Soviet system. This constitutes its immense strength. That is why it is so important that it be strictly observed in everyday affairs, whether the matter concerns salaries or bonuses, distribution of flats or passes [to a health resort], or awards--in brief, so that everything be fair, in accordance with each person's labor contribution to our common cause.

There is what party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, economic managers should do. Much depends on the work collectives themselves. They now have extensive rights, endorsed by legislation. Now they must be used more fully.

The party has enriched itself lately with new experience in guiding the socialist society. We have started to use better the advantages, possibilities of our system. Among them undoubtedly are the organization and consciousness of the masses. Hence our attention to strengthening order and discipline.

The question of organization and order is a key, a principled one for us. There can be no two views on this. Any slackness and irresponsibility brings to society not only material losses. They inflict serious social and moral damage. We, communists, and millions of Soviet people understand this well. And it is quite natural that the measures adopted by the party with a view to enhancing labor, production, planning and state discipline and strengthening socialist legality have evoked nationwide approval.

We have already succeeded in making some progress in this field. And everybody knows what salutary effect this has had on the production affairs, on our social life and simply on the sentiments of people. Yet it would be wrong to believe that everything has already been done. No, comrades, life teaches that there should be by no means any relaxing here.

As far as the guidelines for the development of our economy are concerned, they have been clearly outlined by the party. Intensification, accelerated introduction of the achievements of science and technology into production, implementation of large-scale comprehensive programs are all designed to raise, in the final analysis, the productive forces of our society to a qualitatively new level.

The system of economic management and the whole of our economic machinery need a serious restructuring. Work in this direction has only been started.

It includes a large-scale economic experiment for broadening the rights and increasing the responsibility of the enterprises. A search is under way for new forms and methods of management in the field of services. They will undoubtedly be very useful and help us resolve the strategically important problem of increasing the effectiveness of the entire national economy.

Let us, however, ask ourselves: Doesn't the expectation of the results of experiments serve some economic executives as a cover for their passiveness and the wish to work in the old way? It goes without saying that a renewal of economic structures is an important matter. It will be well-advised to observe in this field the old wise rule: Look before you leap. But this by no means justifies those who do not wish at all to reckon with the changed conditions, with the new requirements of life.

We expect from our economic executives more independence at all levels, a bold search and, if necessary, a well-justified risk in the name of increasing the effectiveness of the economy and ensuring a rise in the living standards of the people.

You know that in the past year the CPSU Central Committee and the government have drawn up and adopted a number of decisions on principled issues of economic development. These decisions have given the party and economic bodies certain levers for increasing the effectiveness of production and accelerating the country's economic development.

The planned measures, and these measures are not only of economic but also of great political significance, will be put into life only if their implementation becomes the main content of everyday work of every party organization, of every working person.

Coping with the present-day tasks, we are creating prerequisites for attaining much higher accomplishments in the future. Maybe, it is yet early to speak in detail of our future and of the 12th Five-Year Plan, but the main problems, the main directions of the future work are seen already now.

The new five-year plan should become above all the beginning of profound qualitative changes in production, a five-year plan of the decisive turning point in the intensification of all branches of our national economy. The present-day material-technical basis and the managerial system should acquire new, higher qualities.

It is no less important now to ensure increasingly close interconnection between economic, social, and intellectual advancement of Soviet society. It is impossible to raise the economy to a qualitatively new level, without creating the necessary social and ideological prerequisites for that. It is likewise impossible to resolve pressing problems of the development of socialist consciousness, without resting upon a firm foundation of economic and social policy.

To build a new world means to tirelessly care for the formation of man in a new world, his ideological and moral advancement. The June CPSU Central

Committee Plenum is known to have considered exactly from this viewpoint questions of ideological and mass-political work. In accordance with its directives, the party will be working to see to it that this work should be fully in line with the character of the big and complicated tasks of perfecting developed socialism.

To comprehend these tasks in their package, to outline the clear long-term strategy for their solution, to show the link between our current deeds with communist prospects--this is what a new edition of the party program should give us. The Central Committee attaches great significance to its drafting.

Comrades! Drawing up plans of further development of our country, we cannot but take into account the situation now shaping in the world. And, as you know, it is now complicated and tense. The correct course of the party and the Soviet state in the sphere of foreign policy acquires still greater significance in these conditions.

The struggle for durable peace, freedom, and independence of the peoples has always been in the center of attention of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. Under this direction, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the top bodies of our state power shaped active foreign policy which is in line with these noble principles, the policy aimed at deliverance of mankind from the threat of a world nuclear war. This Leninist policy of peace, the main features of which were determined at the present historical state by decisions of the latest congresses of the CPSU, accords with the fundamental interests of the Soviet people, and actually also other peoples of the world. And we firmly declare: We shall not deviate an inch from that policy.

It is absolutely clear, comrades, that the success of the effort to preserve and strengthen peace depends in a considerable measure on how great the influence of the socialist countries in the world arena, how vigorous, purposeful, and coordinated their actions will be. Our countries are deeply interested in peace. In the name of this purpose we will strive to broaden cooperation with all the socialist countries. By developing and deepening comprehensively cohesion and cooperation with all countries of the socialist commonwealth in all fields, including, certainly, such an important one as economics, we make a great contribution to the cause of peace, progress, and security of peoples.

Addressing the fraternal countries, we say: The Soviet Union will remain your reliable friend and true ally.

One of the fundamentals of our party's and the Soviet state's foreign policy has been and will remain solidarity with the peoples, which have shattered the fetters of colonial dependence and embarked on the path of independent development. Especially, certainly, with the peoples which have to repel the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism that create most dangerous seats of bloody violence and war conflagration in various areas of the world. Siding with the just cause of the peoples, working for the elimination of such seats is today also an indispensable and important trend in the struggle for a lasting peace on earth. Our party's principled stand on these issues is clear, pure and noble. And we will unswervingly adhere to it.

Now about relations with the capitalist countries. Great Lenin bequeathed to us the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. We are invariably loyal to this principle. Nowadays, in the age of nuclear weapons and super-accurate missiles, people need it as never before. Deplorably, some leaders of the capitalist countries, to all appearances, do not clearly realize, or do not wish to realize that.

We can very well see the threat created today to humankind by the reckless, adventurist actions of imperialism's aggressive forces--and we say about it full voice, drawing to that danger the attention of the peoples of the whole earth. We need no military superiority. We do not intend to dictate our will to others. But we will not permit the military equilibrium that has been achieved to be upset. And let nobody have even the slightest doubt about that: We will further see to it that our country's defense capacity be strengthened, that we should have enough means to cool the hotheads of militant adventurists. This comrades, is a very substantial prerequisite for preserving peace.

The Soviet Union as a great socialist power fully realizes its responsibilities to the peoples for preserving and strengthening peace. We are open to peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation with the states in all continents. We are for a peaceful settlement of all disputable international problems through serious, equal and constructive talks. The USSR will cooperate in full measure with all states which are prepared to assist through practical deeds to lessening international tensions and creating an atmosphere of trust in the world. In other words, with those who will really lead things not to preparation for war, but to a strengthening of fundamentals of peace. We believe that with these aims full use shall be made of all the existing levers, including, certainly, the United Nations Organization, which was created precisely for preserving and strengthening peace.

Comrades, we Soviet communists are sincerely gratified that in the struggle for a peaceful future and progress of humankind we march hand-in-hand with the millions of our class brothers, with numerous contingents of the world communist and working class movement. Being unswervingly loyal to the principle of proletarian internationalism, we treat with ardent sympathy and deep respect the struggle waged by our foreign comrades for the interests and rights of the working people and see our duty in comprehensively strengthening the bonds linking us.

Here is what I would like to say today about the policy of our party in international affairs. And we are confident that the Soviet people wholeheartedly and ardently support it.

Comrades!

The Soviet people inseparably link all their achievements with the activities of the party. The party, which is selflessly devoted to the masses, enjoys the full trust of the masses.

The accountability and election campaign has just ended in party organizations. It showed once again the high level of consciousness and activity of communists. Competent, experienced, knowledgeable people have been elected to leading posts.

First secretaries of party kraykoms and obkoms are taking part in the plenum's work. To you, comrades, I have a special address to make. The Central Committee knows well how broad is the range of your obligations, your concerns. It knows how much depends on you in the solution of our current, immediate and strategic tasks. The Central Committee Politburo is convinced that you will do everything necessary to ensure stable rates of industrial production growth, successful implementation of the Food Program, development of the labor activity of the masses, as well as to implement the measures directed at raising people's well-being, and thus, at enhancing the party's vanguard role.

Any elected post in our party is a post with responsibility. Election to the party committee should be regarded as a kind of credit of confidence issued by party members to their comrades. And this confidence should be justified by selfless work. Such is the mandate given by the participants in the meetings and conferences held. At present, on the eve of the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the party hands over this exacting mandate also to the communists who were nominated candidates for deputies, who will become members of the supreme body of state authority.

The inexhaustible strength of Soviet communists is in the cohesion of their ranks. This strength fully manifests itself when, as Lenin said, "All of us, as members of the party, act as one man" (op. cit., vol 14, p 128). The Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU, its leading core--the Central Committee Politburo--are acting precisely so, in concord and unity. This makes it possible to adopt tested, well-weighed decisions leading to consolidation of the alliance of the working class, farmers and intelligentsia, fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

The truly party, businesslike and creative atmosphere, to establish which Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov devoted so much strength, has been and will be the indispensable condition of work of the party's Central Committee. This is the earnest task for the further growth of the CPSU's prestige, of successful solution of the great and complicated tasks of communist construction that are facing us.

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M. S. GORBACHEV'S ADDRESS AT THE 13 FEBRUARY 1984 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84) p 14

[Text] Comrades! We are concluding our extraordinary Central Committee plenum which took place at an important moment in the life of the party and the people. The plenum was held in an atmosphere of unity and cohesion. Problems of the continuity of leadership were resolved at the plenum with a feeling of tremendous responsibility to the party and the people.

The plenum proved that the party will continue to follow the Leninist course formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 and June and December 1983 Central Committee plenums. This was manifested with particular emphasis in the unanimous election of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko to the position of CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the full support of the stipulations and conclusions on problems of domestic policy and foreign political activities of the party and the state voiced in his speech at the present CPSU Central Committee plenum.

On behalf of the Politburo allow me to express the confidence that the members of the Central Committee and all participants in the plenum, on their return to their areas and party organizations, will act in the spirit of unity, cohesion, high exigency and responsibility which characterize the present party Central Committee plenum.

I wish you success in your work.

I declare the plenum closed.

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CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM AND USSR COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS APPEAL TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE

PM131003 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 15-16

[Text] Dear comrades!

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet people have suffered a heavy loss. Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, outstanding figure of the Leninist Party and the Soviet state, ardent patriot of the socialist motherland, indefatigable fighter for peace and communism, has died. His life is an example of selfless service to the interests of the party and of the people, to the great cause of Lenin. In all posts to which Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov was assigned by the party, he devoted his strength, knowledge and vast life experience to the invariable implementation of the party policy, to the struggle for the triumph of communist ideas. The qualities characteristic of a great political leader were graphically manifested in the whole of Yu. V. Andropov's versatile activity--in Komsomol work and in organizing the partisan movement in Karelia during the years of the Great Patriotic War and at the most important posts in the party and on diplomatic service. He did a great deal to strengthen the security of our state.

The remarkable abilities and organizing talent of Comrade Andropov--leader of Leninist type--were revealed with great force during his work as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

Yu. V. Andropov headed the CPSU Central Committee but for a brief period. However, during this time the party, pursuing the course of the 26th Congress and enriching it in a creative way, has ensured the country's confident advancement of economic and social progress in all directions.

The November 1982 and June and December 1983 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee become important landmarks in the life of the party and the people, in strengthening their inviolable unity. The plenums' decisions and Yuriy Andropov's statements developed and concretized the party's present-day strategy--the strategy of perfecting mature socialism.

During that period, the efforts by the party and the people were concentrated on accelerating economic development, improving the management of the national economy, enhancing party, state and labor discipline, increasing responsibility of the cadres and promoting the creative activity of the masses.

The measures taken by the party have one objective, that of improving the well-being of the Soviet people and enhancing the might of the Soviet state. Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov contributed greatly to all this.

Yu. V. Andropov made a major contribution to the development of comprehensive cooperation among the countries of the socialist commonwealth, to the strengthening of unity and cohesion of the international communist and working class movement and to support for the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence.

Under his leadership, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet state were consistently and perseveringly pursuing on the international scene their Leninist foreign policy course, a course of removing the threat of thermonuclear war, giving a firm rebuff to the aggressive intrigues of imperialism and strengthening the peace and the security of the peoples.

During these days of mourning the communists and all Soviet people are rallying even closer around the Leninist Central Committee of the party and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The working people of the Soviet Union regard the communist party as their tested collective leader and are resolved dedicatedly to work for the implementation of its domestic and foreign policies, which express the fundamental interests of the people. The party's Leninist course is unflagging. The party is equipped with a clear and explicit program of action drawn up by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums.

The CPSU will continue perseveringly and purposefully to pursue its line of comprehensive intensification of production, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, enhancement of organization and discipline and steady rise in the material and spiritual living standards of the people. It will strengthen the unbreakable alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia and the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR, develop socialist democracy and educate people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism and loyalty to the great ideals of communism.

In the present-day complicated, dangerously aggravated international situation the CPSU and the Soviet state deem it their principal duty to uphold consistently the cause of peace, display restraint and vigilance, resolutely thwart the adventurous designs of imperialism and consolidate the country's defense might.

The Soviet people are convinced opponents of the settlement of contentious international issues by force. A world without war is our ideal. In the struggle for a lasting peace we are joined by the fraternal countries of socialism, communist and workers' parties, fighters for national and social liberation, and large sections of the masses favoring the prevention of thermonuclear catastrophe.

Our party and state will continue to put into life the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems in a firm and unswerving way. We want to live in peace with all countries and to cooperate

actively with the governments and organizations which are prepared to work honestly and constructively in the name of peace.

The Soviet people are firmly convinced: The party and the Central Committee, its leading core, are steadfastly faithful to the Leninist banner, to the cause of Great October. The party holds sacred the people's trust and regards as the supreme objective of its activity the care for the well-being and happiness of the Soviet people. Unity of the party and the people was, is and will be the source of our strength.

Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov will forever remain in the memory of communists, all Soviet people as a man infinitely loyal to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, principled and modest, close to working people, responsive to their needs and worries, able to subordinate everything to the interests of the socialist fatherland.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers express profound confidence that communists and all Soviet people will display with fresh vigor their class consciousness and organization and lofty collectivist qualities, and will ensure by their purposeful selfless work the fulfillment of the national economic plans and socialist pledges and the further prosperity of our great motherland.

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CSO: 1802/9

SPEECH BY K. U. CHERNENKO AT 14 FEBRUARY 1984 FUNERAL MEETING

LD140958 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 17-18

[Text] Dear comrades, the passing away of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov has evoked deep sorrow in the hearts of the Soviet people. A glorious son of the communist party, an outstanding political figure, a person of great soul and kind heart has departed from life. Yuriy Vladimirovich devoted all his strength to the very last day to the cause of the party and people.

Yuriy Vladimirovich lived an eventful, action-filled life. A Komsomol leader and organizer of the partisan movement, diplomat and party worker, at every post assigned to him by the party he had worked with inspiration and selflessness. His remarkable qualities as a communist-Leninist--faithfulness to communist ideals, unbending will, modesty and businesslike attitude and concern for a working man--all this won him immense prestige in the party and people. A leader of the Leninist type, Yu. V. Andropov possessed a gift of insight into the essence of developments and the ability to comprehend them, make precise and clear conclusions, rally people together and lead them.

A tested party leader, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov greatly contributed to the activity of its collective leading core--the Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo. His organizing talent, vast knowledge and versatile life experience were most fully and vividly revealed in his high position as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. During that period, the efforts of the party and people were directed at looking for new ways to perfect developed socialism, multiply the country's economic might and raise the living standards of the working people, and at strengthening labor discipline, organization and responsibility. The decisions, worked out collectively by the CPSU Central Committee, were fully backed by the party and people, and brought many positive changes. All this was due to Yuriy Vladimirovich's efforts to a tremendous degree.

The monolithic cohesion of the communist party of the Soviet Union and the unbreakable unity of the party and people were graphically revealed once again on these sorrowful days of bidding farewell to Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. Millions of communists and nonparty people confirm by their practical deeds their trust in the party, in its domestic and foreign policy. For our party, there is nothing higher than the people's trust, nor ever will be.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee have a clear understanding of the long-term future and have a precise program of work.

The party is leading the Soviet people towards new accomplishments along a scientifically tested course--the course of Lenin. And we shall not veer away from this course. The extraordinary CPSU Central Committee plenum held yesterday reaffirmed this.

We shall continue to back the initiative of the masses and the creative upsurge that has filled the party and people. The main thing today is to consolidate and multiply positive changes in every field of public life, guided by the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and CPSU Central Committee plenums. Today, comrades, it is particularly important to lay emphasis on specific accomplishments and to work for real and tangible results. It is precisely on the strength of these that the party will evaluate the maturity of management cadres, the performance of labor collectives and the achievements of republics, oblasts and all sectors of our country's national economy.

An ardent champion of world peace, Yu. V. Andropov did a great deal to consolidate the international positions of our country and to increase its defense capability and combat might. His thoughts and practical work were concentrated on safeguarding peace and saving mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe. In today's extremely tense international situation, too, we are stating clearly that the Soviet Union will continue its policy of peace, a lasting and just peace for all the nations, big and small. We are also reiterating our readiness for talks, but for honest talks on the basis of equality and equal security. We will not be scared by threats. Our defenses are strong and we will be able to protect everything accomplished by the toil of the Soviet people.

We can today say anew to the peoples of socialist countries that the development of our cooperation on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, tested with practice, remains our unchangeable guideline.

The Soviet Union voices solidarity with the struggle waged by the peoples of the liberated countries for independence and social and economic progress and against the encroachments of imperialism on freedom and genuinely democratic development.

Comrades, speaking on behalf of our party and government, on behalf of the Soviet people, I want to express gratitude to the fraternal parties, the working people of the socialist commonwealth, and the governments and peoples of other countries, to all those who paid their respects to the bright memory of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. We firmly assure the Soviet people and our friends abroad that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to follow unwaveringly the road of Lenin.

In this sad hour of parting with Yuriy Vladimirovich, I want to express the deepest condolences to his family and relatives.

Farewell, our dear friend and comrade, Yuriy Vladimirovich! Your bright image will remain with us forever.

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CSO: 1802/9

APPEAL OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO ALL VOTERS AND CITIZENS OF THE USSR

LD032231 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 19-26

[Text] Dear comrades: On 4 March 1984 we all have to exercise a most important constitutional right and carry out a lofty civic duty--that of electing deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Leninist party is coming to the elections in close alliance with nonparty members. This alliance is the embodiment of the inviolable unity of the party and people and of the monolithic cohesion of socialist society; it is the source of the might and progress of the land of the soviets.

Five years have passed since the last elections to the supreme organ of state power. This has been a time of sustained labor, of creative search and persistent efforts in the implementation of great and complicated tasks put forward by the 25th and 26th CPSU congresses. Adding up the results of the country's development over the period that has elapsed, today the following can be reported with full justification to the Soviet people: The political course that was worked out by the party is being unswervingly implemented and new successes have been achieved in economic and cultural construction; our homeland has become even wealthier and stronger. The Leninist foreign policy, the policy of peace and security of the peoples is being carried out consistently.

The decisions of the November 1982 and the June and December 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums and the speeches of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, define precisely the ways and means for the planned, all-round further improvement of developed socialism and the basic directions for the further development of production forces and production relations in all spheres of public life. Under the leadership of the party, the Soviet people are increasing their efforts in the struggle for the more efficient use of the country's economic, scientific-technical and spiritual potential.

Comrade voters: In the years that have passed, the Soviet economy, the foundation of the might of the fatherland has risen to a higher level. National income has increased by 18.6 percent; more than four-fifths of this growth has been obtained through higher labor productivity. Fixed capital has increased by 39 percent. More than 1,000 new state industrial enterprises have been put into operation. The natural wealth of Siberia and the Far East is

being assimilated successfully and the Baykal-Amur main line is entering service. The Energy Program is being implemented consistently: The planet's major Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline was completed ahead of schedule. Our country occupies first place in the world in the production of more than 30 of the most important types of industrial goods, including oil, steel and rolled metal, tractors, diesel and electric locomotives, cement, mineral fertilizers and wool fabrics.

As a result of the great organizational and political work of the party and the intensive labor of the people the rate of economic growth increased in 1983 and the basic indicators of the national economy were improved. The volume of industrial output increased by 4 percent and labor productivity by 3.5 percent. The base industries have moved forward and matters are being put right in transportation.

Tireless concern is being displayed for the upsurge of agriculture. Over the past 5 years 186 billion rubles--almost 17 percent more than during the previous five-year period--has been allocated for its development. The transformation of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR continues. The implementation of the Food Program has become the cause of the whole people.

The economy of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses is being strengthened and living and cultural and domestic conditions in the countryside are being improved. The average annual volume of agricultural output has risen by comparison with the preceding five-year period. A substantial growth in the gross output of sugar beets and potatoes was achieved, more feed was procured and more grain crops were reaped. Procurements of milk, livestock, poultry and eggs were increased.

The party will continue to pay unremitting attention to the development of the agroindustrial complex, to seek an increase in the return on the resources invested in and to do everything to ensure that the population is supplied with high-quality food produce without interruption.

The successes of our economy are obvious. At the same time there are still bottlenecks and shortcomings in many sectors of the national economy and it is essential that considerable work be done in order to remove these. The efficiency of production has to be raised considerably, and the transfer of the national economy onto the track of intensive development has to be speeded up. The economic mechanism and planning and economic management methods do not fully measure up to present-day conditions. The quality of some commodities remains low; far from everywhere is there a thrifty attitude toward the wealth of the people, and a considerable number of enterprises fail to fulfill their contractual obligations. We remain satisfied with the situation in capital construction.

A cardinal raising of labor productivity, a lowering of output prime costs and an increase in the shift index of equipment are required in the interests of the cause. The party attaches prime importance to strengthening the economy drive in all links of the national economy. Every collective is called upon to take concrete measures aimed at lowering the amount of labor expended

and the amounts of raw materials, materials, fuel and power resources consumed. It is essential that the effectiveness of socialist competition be raised, directing it primarily toward the improvement of qualitative indicators; that frontranking experience be introduced more energetically; and that the great opportunities of the brigade form of labor organization be used more fully. One of the most important tasks is to introduce scientific and technical achievements into the national economy as quickly as possible. Particularly topical today are the words of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin: He who has the greatest technology, organization, and discipline comes out on top.

The CPSU Central Committee calls upon the working people of the Soviet Union to strengthen and develop what has been achieved, to make up the lag that has occurred in a number of sectors; to develop a nationwide competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of this year's and the 11th Five-Year Plan. Today, under conditions in which the international situation has been sharply exacerbated, the rigorous fulfillment of state plans is not merely an obligation but the patriotic duty of every Soviet person and every labor collective.

In voting for the candidates of the bloc of communists and nonparty members, you will be voting, comrades, for the further development of our national economy and for the strengthening of the country's economic and defensive might.

Dear comrades: Everything that the party does is in the name of the people and for the people, for the sake of raising the material and spiritual living standards of Soviet people. Over 5 years, real per capita incomes have risen 13 percent. The average monthly pay of workers and employees has been increased from 160 to 182 rubles, while kolkhoz wages have been increased from 109.5 to 138 rubles. Almost 50 million people have celebrated housewarmings, while rents and municipal service living costs do not exceed, on average, 3 percent of the budget of worker and employee families. This year the entire growth in national income is being directed toward raising the people's living standard.

Social consumption funds are being increased regularly. Per capita payments and benefits from these funds have risen from 404 to 495 rubles. The minimum pensions for old age, disability and death of the breadwinner have been raised; aid to families with children has been increased; and the conditions under which pupils are maintained in general-educational boarding schools and in children's homes have been improved. School pupils enjoy free textbooks.

The party considers the provision of necessary goods for a population, their increased variety and improving their quality a matter of special importance. A comprehensive program for developing consumer goods production and consumer services is being worked out. Medical assistance is being improved and preparations have been started for the introduction of an annual medical checkup for the entire population. The party attaches great importance in the solution of social problems to the absolute fulfillment of plans for the construction of residential houses, schools and preschool establishments, hospitals and other cultural and consumer projects. A broad set of measures for protecting the environment and for the rational use of natural resources is being carried out.

Socialism is distinguished by an essentially new quality of life of the working people. It does not amount solely to material comfort, but encompasses the entire range of a rich human existence: A favorable social climate and full employment; a collectivist spirit and comradely mutual assistance; moral health and social optimism; the feeling of being master of one's country. The chief measure of a person's worth and social reputation in our country is labor. Deliberate, conscientious and enterprising labor for the good of society is the basic manifestation of civic spirit and the source of the well-being of the people.

By voting for candidates in the bloc of communists and nonparty members, the Soviet people will be voting for a further improvement in the living standards of every working person and every family.

Comrade voters: In the years that have passed since the last elections, much has been done to develop education, science and culture. The transition to universal secondary education has been completed. The reform of general-education and vocational-training schools will contribute to the fundamental improvement of labor training and vocational guidance of young people and to raising the quality of training and education.

The USSR occupies a leading position in the world in many areas of knowledge. Measures are being taken to strengthen the links between science and production and to develop at an accelerated pace those sectors of industry which provide scientific and technological progress. Fresh successes have been attained in the peaceful conquering of space. The role played by the social sciences in solving economic, sociopolitical and ideological education tasks is growing.

New and important works of literature and art have been created which depict authentically the truth of life and which assert our ideals. The party solicitously cultivates talent, has a respectful attitude toward the creative search by artists and supports everything that enriches culture. Showing concern for the ideological content of literature and art, the CPSU will continue to channel its development in such a way as to serve the interests of the people.

Ideological and mass-political work plays an enormous part in raising the level of awareness and activity of the working people. The whole experience of Soviet society shows convincingly that when people understand profoundly the party's policy and perceive it as being in their own vital interests, the rate of our progress also increases. That is why the molding of the new man is not only one of the most important aims but also an indispensable condition of communist construction.

In voting for candidates of the bloc of communists and nonparty members you, comrades, will be voting for a flowering of the spiritual life of the country and for the creation of increasingly favorable conditions for the all-round development of Soviet man.

Comrade voters! Questions of perfecting the political system of Soviet society and strengthening the state of the whole people have been and remain the focal point of attention of the CPSU.

The indestructible alliance of workers, peasants and intelligentsia is growing stronger, while the leading role of the working class is being maintained and strengthened. A process of drawing classes and social groups together is under way, as is the establishment of a classless society.

Developed democracy as well corresponds to developed socialism. The equal rights of all citizens, men and women, races and nationalities, the right of each to work, rest, education, a home, to health care and other socio-economic, political and personal rights and freedoms--are all the realities of our life, guaranteed by the USSR Constitution and the socialist system.

What can bourgeois society, the proponents of its spurious and hypocritical democracy and the cynical upholders of human rights set against these fundamental values of socialism? The power of the rich, the omnipotence of monopolies, social and national oppression, economic crises, chronic unemployment, the despair of the impoverished and moral degradation--these are the realities of a so-called free society, the incurable flaws of historically doomed capitalism.

The consistent improvement of socialist democracy is the unchanging course of the CPSU. The party is devoting great attention to involving the broad masses in working out decisions on the most important problems of state and social life, to the broader airing of issues, to the development of criticism and self-criticism, to strengthening people's control and to the growth of activity by trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organizations. The Law on Labor Collectives opens new opportunities for the manifestations of initiative and spontaneous activity by the working people.

Soviet democracy, the very essence of our socialist way of life, is incompatible with indiscipline, antisocial phenomena and violations of laws. The party, with the people's full support, is unswervingly pursuing a course toward the strengthening of discipline, organization and order. A persistent struggle is being waged against profiteering, bribery and embezzlement of socialist property, against everything that runs counter to the norms of the socialist communal life. The broad masses of the working people are taking an increasingly active part in this struggle.

The soviets of people's deputies are the main instrument of the people's power and the political foundation of the USSR. Their role in solving tasks of economic and cultural construction is growing steadfastly and the deputies' links with the population are becoming stronger. The party sees its duty as developing further creative activity of the soviets and raising the level of responsibility and authority of those elected by the people. One urgent task is to perfect the administrative apparatus and improve its work.

The party will continue in the future to show concern for broadening the participation of the working people in managing the affairs of state and society

and will strive to ensure that everyone make full use of his rights and carry out his civic duties in a model fashion.

The Central Committee appeals to the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia to cast their votes for candidates of the bloc of communists and nonparty members. You will thereby be voting, dear comrades, for the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of Soviet society--the society of social justice and true people's power.

Citizens of the Soviet Union!

The communist party is consistently implementing Lenin's nationalities policy, the fruits of which make us legitimately proud. For the first time in world history the multinational makeup of the country has turned from a source of its weakness into a source of strength and prosperity. Over the past years, the economic potential of all union republics has gained in strength even further within the framework of the unified national economic system. Soviet internationalist culture has become enriched and has assumed bright new colors. The celebrations of the USSR's 60th anniversary was a demonstration of the genuine friendship and indissoluble fraternity between the peoples.

The party sees its task as continuing to ensure the all-round development of the nations and ethnic groups of the country unswervingly pursuing a course of bringing them closer and closer together. The CPSU will show constant concern for ensuring proper representation of working people of all nations in party and state bodies. It will promote the growth of national detachments of the working class, take into account the specific requirements of citizens in the areas of language, culture and way of life and perfect patriotic and internationalist education.

By voting for the candidates in the bloc of communists and nonparty members you will be voting, comrades, for the great and indissoluble friendship of the fraternal peoples and for a new upswing of our united fatherland--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The society of developed socialism was created by the selfless labor, intellect, and efforts of all classes and social groups and of all generations of Soviet people.

Esteemed veterans of revolution, war and labor!

Under the guidance of the Leninist party you were engaged in establishing and defending Soviet power and laying the foundations for socialism. During the Great Patriotic War your generation defended the freedom and independence of the homeland and won a great victory, the 40th anniversary of which will be marked next year. You restored the national economy that was destroyed by the war and built new towns and factories. Profound thanks to you, dear comrades, for your unparalleled exploits and for your lofty thoughts and the strength of your spirit.

The party will continue to show concern for veterans and create conditions for their active participation in the life of the country and their involvement in bringing up their young replacements. May each party, war, and labor veteran become a mentor of young people and impart to them his ideological conviction, life experience and readiness selflessly to serve the cause of socialism.

Komsomol members of both sexes, young lads and girls: You are the heirs and continuers of the glorious traditions of the older generations. Communists and the whole people value highly your labor enthusiasm, your steadfastness in mastering the fundamentals of sciences and your courage in carrying out your patriotic and internationalist duty. The party will always entrust young people with responsible tasks and enhance the role of the Leninist Komsomol in the communist education of the upcoming generation.

Millions of boys and girls will be taking part in the elections for the first time. The CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates young voters on their entry into active political life and expresses the firm assurance that they will be worthy of the lofty title of citizen of the USSR.

Dear women!

The country is proud of your valiant toil in the national economy and in state and public work and glorifies your exploits as mothers. Improvements in working and living conditions of Soviet women, the protection of motherhood and childhood and the strengthening of the family all have an important place in the social policy of the party and the state.

There is no doubt that Soviet women will always march in the front ranks of the creators of a new society and will bring up worthy sons and daughters of our homeland.

The CPSU Central Committee calls upon veterans, young people and women to vote for the candidates of the bloc of communists and nonparty members and thereby to display high conscientiousness and a determination to redouble the strength and glory of the land of the soviets.

Compatriots!

The party and Soviet state are doing everything possible to ensure peaceful conditions for the life and work of Soviet people and for the preservation and strengthening of world peace and of the security of the peoples.

Today through the fault of ultrareactionary imperialist forces striving to retard social progress, the international situation has worsened considerably. The U.S. ruling circles, laying claim to world domination, have launched an unbridled arms race, have elevated state terrorism to the rank of official policy and by force of arms are trying to dictate their will to sovereign states. The U.S. administration is deliberately aggravating relations with the Soviet Union and stooping to the vilest provocations against the socialist countries. It has thwarted the talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms in Europe.

The deployment of Pershings and cruise missiles on the threshold of our home is a direct threat to the security of the USSR and of all the socialist community. It is a step that is extremely hostile to peace. It is an overt attempt by the United States and its NATO allies to alter in their favor the military balance in Europe and on a global scale. But this is not to be!

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's statements of 28 September and 24 November 1983 and his answers to questions put by the newspaper PRAVDA (25 January 1984) provide a profound and comprehensive assessment of the reasons for present complication of the international situation, confirm the consistent foreign policy course of our party and express the united will of the Soviet people for peace and their determination firmly to rebuff the crusade against socialism announced by Washington. The retaliatory steps being taken by the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies have met with unanimous approval from our people and the working peoples of other countries of the socialist community and have been greeted with understanding and support by all people of goodwill abroad.

The complex military-political situation must not be overdramatized. The Soviet people have strong nerves. We have sufficient strength and resources to uphold the interests of the USSR and of its friends and allies. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government will continue to take tireless pains to strengthen the defense capability of the country and to equip the armed forces with everything necessary to defend the gains of socialism.

Servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy!

The party and people call upon you to tirelessly perfect your combat mastery and skill, to persistently master your awesome weaponry and modern equipment. Worthily discharge your sacred duty to the motherland and be ever on the alert!

Our people are responding to imperialism's intrigues with even closer cohesion around Lenin's party. It is important that each Soviet person should display a high degree of political awareness and vigilance and labor at full efficiency for the sake of strengthening the fatherland's economic and defense might.

Upholding peace and averting a nuclear catastrophe is today's main task. The Soviet Union is waging a struggle along with all peace-loving forces of the planet to resolve this task. The USSR is contributing in every way toward strengthening the unity of the socialist community countries and to the consolidation of the socialist community's positions as a bulwark of peace and social progress. The nonaligned countries are intensifying their actions to counter aggression and the threat of war. The antiwar movement of the masses, which has become a weighty factor of international politics, has assumed an unprecedented scale. The CPSU actively advocates the internationalist collaboration between communists and all progressive forces struggling against oppression and exploitation for the preservation of human civilization and for the prime right of people--the right to life.

The CPSU, even in today's acute situation, will not retreat from the Peace Program adopted by its congresses. A USSR Supreme Soviet resolution confirmed once again: The Soviet Union does not encroach on the security of any country, West or East. It desires to live in peace with all countries and to implement the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different sociopolitical systems. Expressing the most profound aspirations of the Soviet people, the party and government will do everything to avert the threat of war and to preserve peace for the present and future generations.

By voting for the candidates of the bloc of communists and nonparty people you, comrades, will be voting for a Leninist foreign policy, the invariable aims of which are to preserve lasting peace and universal security, expand and deepen cooperation among states and to defend the right of peoples to independence and social progress.

Comrades!

The Soviet people associate all our country's achievements with the multifaceted work of the CPSU, the leading and guiding force of society. In 80 years, from a small organization of Marxist revolutionaries, it was transformed into a powerful party numbering more than 18 million members today.

Guided by Marxist-leninist theory and creatively developing it, the CPSU formulates the country's internal policy and its foreign policy course. Profoundly conscious of its historic role and of its responsibility for the country's destiny, the party strives to exert an increasingly effective influence on the course of social processes and perfects the forms and methods of party guidance of society in accordance with the requirements of the times and its new tasks.

With all its activities the party asserts the Leninist style of work--a style that is scientific, creative and innovative and which ensures a high degree of organization, an ability to mobilize the masses for solving constructive tasks and an implacable attitude to formalism and bureaucratism. The CPSU is constantly raising the demands it makes on communists and is seeing to it that every one of them is a selfless fighter for the triumph of communist ideals, who always and in everything fulfills worthily his role as a member of the vanguard.

Our party assesses the situation realistically, speaks directly and openly of problems as they arise and takes counsel on how best to solve them. This approach is also a hallmark of the present election campaign in the course of which we are comprehensively analyzing questions of socioeconomic, political and spiritual development and the work of the state and economic organization and giving mandates to the elected representatives of the people. All proposals and comments by the working people will be attentively examined and taken into account in the further work of the party and the soviets of people's deputies.

For the CPSU there is nothing higher or dearer than the interest of the working people. It sees the meaning of its activities in serving them, in taking

care of the welfare and happiness of Soviet people. Relying on the trust and support of the masses, the CPSU confidently leads the people along the road of Lenin, the road of the Great October.

Comrades, voters, citizens of the Soviet Union: The CPSU Central Committee calls on you to cast your vote for the candidate of the bloc of communists and nonparty members. By voting unanimously you will demonstrate once again your loyalty to the party's course toward communist construction and peace.

All to the elections!

Long live our glorious homeland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Long live Soviet power, the power of the people and for the people!

Glory to the working people of the land of the soviets!

Under the banner of Lenin and under the leadership of the communist party, forward to new victories in the construction of communism!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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CSO: 1802/9

FLAG OVER THE RURAL SOVIET

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 1984 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 27-31

[Article by V. Kovalenko]

[Text] Three kolkhozes are located on the territory of the Poretskoye Rural Soviet. Today this is a rare occurrence. There is a single rural soviet per large farm or sometimes even two or three. In suggesting that I study the practical experience of the Poretskoye Rural Soviet, which is one of the best in Vladimir Oblast, Anatoliy Alekseyevich Baranov said:

"Naturally, it is far more difficult to supervise the work of three kolkhozes and efficiently to help the farm managers fulfill the Food Program than when the rural soviet has a single kolkhoz or section of a large sovkhoz. That is why we recommended for the position of soviet chairman deputy Antonina Yakovlevna Glotova, an experienced and energetic person. Previously, she had worked for nearly 10 years as chief agronomist at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin. Her rich experience in agronomy came in handy in her new position. Incidentally, Antonina Yakovlevna is quite knowledgeable in animal husbandry as well. As to mechanization, one could say that she has her consultant at home: her husband Georgiy Fedorovich Glotov is chief engineer at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin and chairman of the rural soviet's permanent commission for agriculture, environmental protection and public works. All in all, they have a good family and a nice son and daughter. This, you must agree, is also important in terms of the authority of the head of the soviet system in a village. In my view, Antonina Yakovlevna represents the new generation of Soviet rural workers, highly educated, practically tried people with a communist morality. However, I would like to draw your attention mainly on the extensive organizational work which the rural soviet is doing in the area of kolkhoz production. The oblast executive committee commission made a thorough study of its experience. We recently heard the Poretskoye report. I must say that its experience is both interesting and instructive. A special report was drawn up on the work of the Poretskoye Rural Soviet and I advise you to study it."

The report proved that the Poretskoye Rural Soviet includes seven settlements with a population of almost 2,000. Its territory includes the kolkhozes imeni Kalinin, imeni Baturin and Zarya Kommunizma, with an overall land area of 7,071 hectares. The villages have one eighth-grade and two primary schools, three children's combines and five stores. Each kolkhoz has its house of culture, library, feldcher-maternity center, savings bank, communications department, and comprehensive reception center of the consumer services combine.

I immediately understood why the work of the members of the Poretskoye Rural Soviet is more difficult than that of many of their colleagues in other rural soviets. What is the level of work of the soviet and its executive committee and deputies? Here is an excerpt from an oblast executive committee resolution: "With the active help of the rural soviet, in 1983 the kolkhozes achieved certain positive results, as follows: grain crop yields averaged 33.7 quintals per hectare; potatoes, 198; vegetables, 417. Above-plan sales to the state totaled 76 tons of grain, more than 1,400 tons of potatoes and 220 tons of vegetables."

Considering last year's rather poor weather conditions, these are not bad results. But what lies behind the statement "with the active cooperation of the rural soviet...?" How did the 25 people's deputies in it prove themselves?

... The office of the Poretskoye Rural Soviet chairman is small and very simply furnished: a desk, a few chairs, a bookshelf, a typewriter on a separate stand and flowers on the windowsill. Antonina Yakovlevna Glotova, a pretty young woman, opens the talk with a question:

"You have come from Moscow to write about our experience?" She seems somewhat confused and troubled. "Is it not too early to promote us? Our work still suffers from a number of faults!"

I am already familiar with the "faults:" both the resolution and the report include a number of critical remarks. This is natural. Nevertheless, a great deal can be learned from the Poretskoye people. At the end of 1982 the deputies of this rural soviet turned to all livestock breeders in Suzdalskiy Rayon with the appeal to milk no less than 1,456 kilograms per cow. The appeal was unanimously supported and the assumed obligations were fulfilled. The Poretskoye livestock breeders averaged 1,705 kilograms and rural soviet deputy Zoya Ivanovna Yerastova, a milkmaid at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, milked 1,960 kilograms. Milk sales to the state by the Poretskoye Kolkhoz increased by more than 1,200 tons compared to 1982! In terms of the area's farms this was incredible. Now, during the fourth year of the five-year plan, on the initiative of the members of the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, an oblast competition among animal husbandrymen has been launched for the successful wintering of the cattle and overfulfilling milk and meat production plans.

"Our deputies," Antonina Yakovlevna says, "worked conscientiously." Aleksandra Andreyevna Zakharova, tally clerk at the dairy farm, became the best collector of milk among the population. She collected 15 tons of milk in Vasilkovo village, which has only 12 cows! This is the best indicator for the rayon and one of the best for the oblast. Lidiya Petrovna Dolotova, chief zootechnician at the Zarya Kommunizma Kolkhoz, was active as well. All deputies, and not only those who worked in animal husbandry, cared for their work. They regularly visited the livestock farms and reported to farm managers and to me the shortcomings they detected. They did everything they could."

The most vital problems such as, for example, the implementation of the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the preparedness

of the equipment for spring fieldwork, the implementation of socialist obligations in honor of the 60th anniversary of the USSR, the organization of the wintering of the cattle and moving it to summer pastures, and others, are steadily discussed at the sessions of the Poretskoye Rural Soviet. Both deputies and activists try to analyze as profoundly as possible the situation. They express critical remarks concerning managers and specialists. On the initiative of tractor driver Aleksandr Yur'yevich Markelov and driver Vyacheslav Stepanovich Yurlov, the soviet discussed at its session steps to improve preventive work among kolkhoz drivers and mechanizers. Today no truck or tractor driver is allowed to handle his machinery without medical examination. This has sharply reduced the number of breakdowns and traffic accidents.

"Now we have tried a new work method: reciprocal investigation of the situation in the fields and livestock farms of all kolkhozes," Glotova continued. "In the autumn we organized reciprocal control at all livestock farms with the participation of the chief farm zootechnicians and rank-and-file livestock breeders. Based on the results of the session the soviet passed a resolution making it incumbent on farm managers and specialists, following the example of the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, to equip the fodder shop properly, mechanize feeding and organize work in animal husbandry based on the brigade contracting method which proved quite efficient: the Kalinin people now milk as much as 9 kilograms daily per cow. This is 2 kilograms more than at the Zarya Kommunizma Kolkhoz. The main thing is to see to it that any decision passed at the session is implemented within the shortest possible time."

This principle was applied at the beginning of June 1983 in a reciprocal investigation of the condition of the crops in all three farms. Its results were also discussed at the soviet's session. The best, graded "excellent," were the fields of the Kalinin people, who confirmed once again the right of the kolkhoz to be described as a high standard farm; all of their fields were awarded the Emblem of Quality. The Kolkhoz imeni Baturin won for the first time the title of high standard farm. All Zarya Kommunizma received was a satisfactory rating for perennial grasses. Yu. A. Konstantinov, kolkhoz chairman, and G. A. Kudryakova, the farm's chief agronomer, had to hear a number of bitter yet entirely justified words. They admitted that extremely grave errors had been made during the sowing and assured the deputies that this will not happen again.

The advent of the autumn proved the accuracy of the assessments. Zarya Kommunizma averaged 27 quintals of grain per hectare compared to 34 by the Kolkhoz imeni Baturin and more than 38 at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin.

The fact that the farms had sold the state grain, potatoes and vegetables above the plan did not satisfy the chairman of the rural soviet, for yield disparities remained in vegetable and potato growing. Furthermore, a disparity (11 quintals!) in hectare yields is a very serious event.

Antonina Yakovlevna recalls how sharply the managers of Zarya Kommunizma were criticized at the session of the rural soviet at which annual results were discussed. The floor was given to Deputy V. V. Dvornikov, a mechanizer at the kolkhoz.

"Several years ago," he said, "the kolkhoz averaged 40 or more quintals of grain per hectare. This was above all the merit of the chief agronomer who taught classes in agrotechnology, thoroughly checked every single piece of machinery after repairs and demanded of the repair workers that each machine be tuned like a watch. His promotion was followed by a breakdown. The equipment is being poorly prepared for spring sowing, the sowing drags out and chemical fertilizers are not applied.

"The situation with the grain harvest was even worse," the deputy said. "The winter grain crops developed well but were lodged and covered with weeds. The harvesters were malfunctioning, mowing too low. The moment they would hit a rock or a piece of metal several combines would break down. This meant further losses. That is why only 27 quintals per hectare were harvested. Look at stocking the haylage. The kolkhoz grasses are better and taller than in the other farms, yet the mowing was extremely slow, for the mowing equipment had been repaired very poorly. It took 2 and even 3 weeks to fill up a haylage trench, which worsened the quality of the haylage. The loss of such good grass is vexing."

After the session a difficult conversation took place between Glotova and G. A. Kudryakova, the chief agronomer at Zarya Kommunizma.

"In your place, Galina Aleksandrovna," I would die of shame after what Dvornikov said. Did he exaggerate?"

"No, he was right," said Kudryakova, sighing heavily. "I admitted to my errors at the session."

"Galina Aleksandrovna, do you think that I find it pleasing to discuss all this with you? You can no longer work this way. Look: The Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin has already applied 17 tons of peat compost per hectare; a lot less has been used by your farm. At the same time, the sewage water from your cattleyards is flowing straight into the pond. Not to mention the inadmissibility of polluting the pond, this is the equivalent of hundreds of tons of unharvested grain! Is it my place to tell you about this? Naturally, we shall raise this question at the next session. We shall take firmly to task the chairman and the chief engineer as well. But why didn't you, Galina Aleksandrovna, fail to sound the alarm on time? Why is it that a simple mechanizer cares more for the work and is not afraid of spoiling relations with the kolkhoz leadership? You are directly responsible for dropping your kolkhoz yields. I am also to blame and so is the executive committee. You must demand of the people and the kolkhoz board everything you need for the crops. We will help."

Such was the conversation between the two agronomists. Yes, things are not easy for the chairman of the Poretzkoye Rural Soviet. There are three farms with three chairmen and 20 chief specialists and every one of them an individual and everyone needs a specific approach. The richness of the harvest and milk and meat production depend on the way the chairmen, together with the deputies and the entire aktiv, can find a way to the hearts and the conscience of the people. Yet this is only part of the concerns of the rural soviet which has many other matters to deal with!

Not so long ago Lidiya Andreyevna Mishunina went to the chairman asking her to call on her neighbors, who had once again become inebriated the previous evening. Lidiya Andreyevna is retired. By request of the rural soviet she acts as a ward of this problem family with four children. For the past year it is she who collects the earnings of these good-for-nothing parents. She makes all the purchases for the family. The children call her Grandmother Lida.

After hearing out Mishunina, Glotova decided to go that same evening and remind the parents once again that they have not been deprived of parental rights only thanks to Lidiya Andreyevna and that their drunkenness is traumatizing the children. She would try to shame them. Yes, a great deal of effort will be necessary to lead this family onto the proper path.

The door to the office opens once again and Irina Serafimovna Mishkanova enters. She is the chairman of the permanent planning-budget commission and of the public inspectorate for minors' affairs. Her news is happy: one of her wards has sent her a postcard from Vladimir describing his successes. After Mishkanova had left, Antonina Yakovlevna said that many problem adolescents owe their changed way of life to the inspectorate's activists. Such voluntary inspectorates work together with the militia in each kolkhoz.

Many are the concerns of the rural soviet in dealing with the young and the old. A. Ya. Glotova proudly spoke of the new school building. Finally, the construction workers finished the eighth-grade school in Poretskoye. It is based on the latest plans and is for 320 students. Now dozens of rural children will not have to attend the Bogolyubov boarding school, which is 30 kilometers away from their homes. They will go to school here, in Poretskoye, using kolkhoz buses traveling on the highway which was built recently by the farms themselves and with the help of the deputies. At 6 o'clock that evening the parents will gather at the new school for a general cleanup. Both Antonina Yakovlevna and her husband will attend. The men occasionally tease her husband saying, "You work for your wife, promoting family life!" Unwittingly one wishes for more such "family life."

As chairman of the permanent commission, Georgiy Fedorovich Glotov is in charge of rural public work rallies. He organizes the people for projects such as repairing the wells, building fences and planting saplings along rural streets. Over the past few years 60 new homes have been thusly improved.

On the next day we went to see what makes Poretskoye village rich. This includes the new school, an excellent house of culture, a cafeteria, a children's combine and good housing. An old woman came across us at a street corner.

"Hello, Mariya Artem'yevna!" Glotova greeted her.

"Hello, daughter!" the other smiled. "Thank you! Now they are bringing us everything we need from the Vasil'kovo store."

Glotova explained that Mariya Artem'yevna is from Ulovo village, where 15 retirees now live. There was no point in opening a store there. However, on the demand of the rural soviet the kolkhoz assigned to the oldsters a horse with a cart to fetch what they need.

"We have great oldsters!" warmly said Antonina Yakovlevna. "Last year our women retirees collected the entire amount of potato seeds in the kolkhozes. This is invaluable help! Retirees help everywhere--in haymowing and on the threshing floor."

"What about the schoolchildren?" I asked.

"They also help. Last year our deputies and activists organized a work and rest student camp at Zarya Kommunizma. The kolkhoz gave them a tractor. The children worked quite well. The parents realized that this was a worthwhile project and no complaints of hooliganism by adolescents were made at the kolkhoz."

A visit to the Poretskoye Rural Soviet shows the people work with enthusiasm. The children are cared for in new kolkhoz children's combines. The feldcher-maternity centers, schools and stores are clean and orderly. Amateur art circles operate during the evenings in the houses of culture, although not all of them are headed by professionally trained people. However, this can be corrected, for the rayon culture department has promised help.

Many unresolved problems exist. We discussed one of them.

"I and the other deputies and the activists," Antonina Yakovlevna shared her thoughts, "frequently ask why are there still many delinquencies, drunkenness, absenteeism or rude words here? You know, a great deal depends on the moral features of the manager, on the ethics of his behavior. It is no secret that some of our managers could hardly be entrusted even with a broom. Here is an example: I shall not name the farm but until recently its chief engineer was, frankly speaking, a drunkard. The question is what could he demand of a carousing mechanizer? The moment he was dismissed, however, the situation in the farm improved immediately. This, naturally, is an exception. But how much rudeness is found in individual managers in their relations with the people! We should not ignore this even if the production indicators reached by such managers are good, for rudeness and boorishness are phenomena which trigger the chain reaction of moral degeneracy among subordinates. We are thinking of dedicating one of the rural soviet sessions to problems of the moral features of the manager and his ethics."

... I left Poretskoye. The red flag was fluttering in the wind over the building of the rural soviet. I recalled a line by Aleksey Nedogonov: "Over the roof of the rural soviet the flag spread the light of dawn." The unwitting thought came to me that the members of the Poretskoye Rural Soviet were also helping to spread this light which was shining brighter and brighter on the accomplishments, the hearts and the thoughts of the people.

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CSO: 1802/9

TREATING PEOPLE WITH KINDNESS AND CONSIDERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84) pp 32-39

[Article by M. Bityutskiy, Zhitomir]

[Text] People address themselves to managers of party, soviet and social organizations to express their views, submit suggestions or file additions or complaints. This truly democratic right of the Soviet person to address himself to any organization or any official has been raised to the rank of a constitutional principle. Personal interviews with citizens and their letters are of great importance, for they reflect the thoughts and expectations of millions of people and help us to become better oriented in the social situation and see more clearly shortcomings and means of eliminating them and formulating proper solutions.

The reception hall of the Zhitomir Oblast Executive Committee is both formal and somehow homey. Its most pleasant aspects, however, are the simplicity and well-wishingness of the personnel who answer the questions of visitors who have come here from various parts of the oblast. Granting the interviews is V. N. Yamchinskiy, oblast executive committee chairman and deputy to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

On that day the first visitor was P. I. Sidorenko, cadre worker at the Flax Combine imeni 60-Letiya Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii.

"I may be addressing myself to the wrong person," the fitter began. "But I decided to turn to you, after you had visited our shop. Our enterprise is the frontrunner in the oblast. We are overfulfilling our assignments and producing high-quality goods. However, we make use of only 60 percent of our production waste: we use it to make furniture stuffing, string, binder twine, cord, mittens, and others. The balance is shipped out as secondary raw materials. That is why I decided to discuss with you this subject and ask for your help to acquire the necessary equipment so that the enterprise could work without waste."

"Petr Iosifovich, I share your concern. We know, we are dealing with this matter. In the near future the combine will begin to work without waste. Thank you very much for your concern."

Sidorenko was followed by an elderly woman and mother of nine children, A. N. Danilova, from the settlement of Novaya Borovaya, Volodarsko-Volynskiy Rayon.

She felt obliged to come to the oblast center complaining of the rayon executive committee which was not helping her to repair her private home. The chairman of the oblast executive committee heard out the woman, discussed the matter by telephone with the chairman of the rayon executive committee, scolded him and ordered him to allocate the necessary construction materials. Danilova's house was repaired soon afterwards.

The reception was efficiently organized. Every visitor was given the opportunity to speak fully. Only rarely did Yamchinskiy interrupt with necessary phone calls. I particularly recall the sentence "Keep your word, comrade deputy, otherwise the people will no longer trust you. And without trust you cannot operate."

That particular day all visitors were seen. Some were given immediate answers, others were told when they would be informed of the results.

I also recall the following: In considering the letters which were to be sent to heads of managements, departments and other organizations for execution, the oblast executive committee chairman asked Zh. L. Muranova, in charge of the interview, who was sitting next to him:

"Why is this complaint not being followed up?"

"It was checked, the facts were confirmed and the petition was granted. Everything is in order."

"You are mistaken, Zhanna Leonidovna, you are mistaken. It clearly states: 'Immediate action, take steps regarding the culprits. To be accomplished in 3 days.' Where does it show here who was punished for red tape and how? Ask for an immediate explanation."

Several days later I was once again present at the reception held by A. S. Malinovskiy, first deputy chairman of the executive committee. Plasterer G. A. Moseyechik complained that the oblast repair-construction trust which employs her is violating the order of granting apartments and that her family has been removed from the list. After hearing out the visitor attentively, Malinovskiy ordered the complaint to be immediately investigated and the results be reported to the oblast executive committee within 3 days. The investigation fully confirmed the complaint and justice was restored.

New visitors bring new problems. On this occasion it was a question of allocating a lot for the construction of a private home by S. S. Blazhevskiy, a Great Patriotic War veteran living in Teterevka village.

The telephone rang. Anton Stanislavovich listened to someone talk and firmly objected:

"What does this mean change the final reception? In no case should this be allowed, even if the conference is quite important. Could they come another time? Do you know what you are saying? I just saw a woman with a child. She had traveled 100 kilometers! You are making me suspicious."

I immediately recalled Malinovskiy's words when he was talking to the chief of one of the administrations who was trying to avoid seeing visitors: "You can postpone a meeting with a friend or write to your brother later but you cannot refuse to see someone. This is not only immoral but criminal."

The Zhitomir Oblast Executive Committee, the rayon executive committees and the rural and settlement soviets pay particular attention to those who, regardless of the time spent or the distance, come to discuss problems affecting public interests, those who are zealous in finding reserves and who suggest how to improve situations.

I heard one of the visitors emotionally discuss the problem of a neglected kolkhoz garden, complaining of a lack of attention the chairman paid to his suggestions. Another person spoke of the disorderly hauling of goods and the work of the rural store. Both were similarly concerned for the common cause. Their complaints and suggestions helped to correct shortcomings.

Last year alone the executive committee passed a number of resolutions on problems raised in working people's letters. They dealt with environmental protection, the work of the Korostyshevskiy Rayon Executive Committee on increasing the production of consumer goods, the organizational work done by the Chudnovskiy Rayon Executive Committee on further improving consumer services to the working people, and so on.

Steps for the implementation of the Food Program and, in particular, the development of the auxiliary farms of citizens, enterprises and organizations and collective truck gardening were taken in accordance with the oblast population's suggestions. Currently capital investments and the material and technical resources of enterprises of various ministries and departments are being harnessed more actively in the creation of new and expanding existing auxiliary farms. With the help of such means a livestock farm will be set up in Zhitomir which will feed 3,000 hogs. The task is for every family living in the countryside, which could raise animals, to have a private plot and raise cattle and poultry. To this effect the population will be sold as many as 6 million young poultry offspring, 165,000 pigs and a large number of purebred calves and rabbits per year.

Increasing amounts of rough and fresh fodder are being allocated for raising cattle in private farms. Sales of gardening tools, small equipment, fertilizers and construction materials for building small garden houses and farm premises will be increased. Some results have already been achieved in resolving such problems. Thus, for example, last year Zhitomir Oblast fulfilled ahead of schedule its annual plans and socialist obligations for sales to the state of all types of animal husbandry products.

The procurement centers and processing enterprises received from the oblast farms 117,600 tons of cattle and poultry, 517,400 tons of milk, 128,300,000 eggs and 232 tons of wool.

Many of the letters are imbued with the feeling of ownership on the part of people who cannot tolerate indifference, irresponsibility, abuses and

bureaucratism. They help to improve the work and to eliminate shortcomings faster. Many substantiated complaints against V. N. Moroz, executive committee chairman of the Korosten City Soviet were received. He had alienated himself from the masses and forgotten his duty. He was removed from his position, having failed to justify the faith in him. The new city executive committee management was given effective practical aid in improving the work. The attentive on-site considerations of complaints and petitions have reduced their flow reaching the superior organizations and improved efficiency.

The personnel of the Golovinskiy Quarry reported to the oblast executive committee the criminal actions of their director A. Charlin. He no longer considered the views of the collective, rarely saw the workers and failed to attend meetings, claiming to be busy and having urgent meetings with important officials. When the number of such "important officials" became excessive and when the granite and other finishing stones extracted here began to be shipped to unknown destinations, the honest people became concerned. An investigation established that Charlin was taking bribes and engaging in frauds and black marketeering. He was sentenced to a 15-year jail term and confiscation of property. His accomplices in the various machinations and theft of state ownership were severely punished as well.

Those who worsen our temporary food difficulties and pursue the single objective of personal enrichment are condemned and punished most severely and mercilessly. T. I. Klimko, director of the Zhitomir Wholesale-Retail Fruit and Vegetable Combine, worked hard and showed great inventiveness in extracting personal benefits from supplying vitamin-rich produce to medical and children's institutions and public catering enterprises, particularly during seasons when tomatoes and cucumbers are hauled over long distances or else are raised in greenhouses and their market price is tripled. She answered consumers' questions as follows: "These are scarce products and are for a special purpose." The people did not believe such fabrications. An investigation under petition determined that Klimko and the likes of her were speculating in vegetables. All of them were taken to court.

In Zhitomir Oblast this case became one more reason for intensifying the struggle against those who compromise Soviet trade and profit from shortages. Each established violation of trade rules is publicized. Naturally, so is the punishment.

Many people come to discuss personal problems. Some have been awarded a pension improperly, refused fuel delivery, poorly treated in a notary public's office or housing administration and so on. In resolving such seemingly strictly personal problems affecting one individual or another, the real manager should try to detect beyond them specific phenomena which may be of major social significance and detect a developing trend.

On one occasion pensioner V. R. Grishchenko came to the oblast executive committee reception room to complain that consumer facilities are being completed too slowly in the new "Vostochnyy" microrayon in Zhitomir. This was followed by an investigation and the question was submitted for discussion at the executive committee session which considered not only plans for the

development of consumer service and trade enterprises but steps to improve the work in public transportation, the construction of preschool establishments and others. They are currently being implemented: three trolley bus routes run through Vostochnyy. The rayon has workshops for shoemaking and repairs, a workshop for the repair of refrigerators and other household equipment and a clothing workshop. Food and vegetable stores are no more than a few minutes distant from any house. It is true that a great many more public works remain to be done in the rayon. The faster the unfinished projects are completed the fewer complaints will be received and, above all, the mood of the people will improve.

It can already be said that the executive committee of the oblast soviet of people's deputies and its departments and administrations have noticeably improved their work with the letters of the working people and with organizing visits by the citizens. The time for processing complaints and petitions has been reduced by one-half. Currently such problems are being discussed more frequently at oblast executive committee meetings and sessions and the resulting decisions have become more specific and purposeful.

Live contacts with the masses are intensifying as well. The oblast executive committee received 1,181 visits in 1983: 399 by the chairman and 782 by the executive committee members. Furthermore, deputies from the country's and the republic's supreme soviets and the local soviets regularly hold meetings with the population at enterprises, establishments, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, schools and places of residence, in accordance with the stipulations of Article 19 of the Law on the Status of People's Deputies in the USSR.

Weaver G. G. Bedareva, delegate to the 26th Party Congress and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, works at the Zhitomir Flax Combine. How many warm words can be heard on the subject of this responsive and good woman! She is known throughout the district as the best production worker, who covered 15 annual norms during the 10th Five-Year Plan and is already working for 1988 and as a true people's representative. People come to her with their joys and sadness, complaints and suggestions or asking for help and support. In 1983 alone Galina Gavrilovna saw some 100 people and considered dozens of citizens' letters. She has honored almost all the requests of the voters. Today the flax combine shops have comfortable rest rooms with modern furniture and refrigerators, samovars and utensils. Workshops for garment-making and repairs, shoe stores and a beauty shop function at the enterprise; the enterprise has its greenhouse and orchard with 337 apple trees. The rosarium is continuing to expand. It already has more than 5,000 rosebushes.

Currently this progressive enterprise has a well-furnished public reception room which offers all necessary publications and visual aids. A lawyer or a senior enterprise worker may be consulted any day. Leading party and soviet workers of the oblast and city are invited to meet with the working people. Every visitor, if not personally received for one reason or another, can write down his question in the visitor's book which is regularly checked by the leading flax combine personnel. An available list of deputies indicates the shop and work sector where they could be approached. Last year alone public reception room activists delivered 25 lectures and 30 talks dealing mostly with legal topics.

Party member V. A. Gurkov, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and turner at the Elektroizmeritel' Plant in Zhitomir, works fruitfully and purposefully. He listens carefully to every person, he can explain puzzling matters and cheer the people up. If necessary, he himself visits the respective organizations or premises of petitioners and tries to settle all problems on the spot.

Last year deputies on all levels of the oblast soviets considered 12,000 petitions of which some 70 percent were answered positively. Natural gas was supplied to Singury village and a boarding school was built in Lyubar, the rayon center, on the suggestion of the people's representatives. Let us note the precise implementation of the plan for verifying the implementation of adopted resolutions on work with working people's letters and citizens' visits. In 1982 such verifications were conducted in 15 departments and administrations of the Zhitomir Oblast executive committee, 12 city, rayon, rural and settlement soviets and 130 enterprises, establishments, kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

A comprehensive investigation, the results of which were discussed by the executive committees of the respective soviets, was completed in 1983. In every single case the materials were prepared ahead of time with the participation of the public.

The investigation revealed that deadlines for acting on complaints were still not observed everywhere; schedules for visits by working people were not strictly obeyed and in Luginskiy Rayon no open-letter days had taken place at all.

In the course of the investigation particular attention was paid to the study of the reasons for complaints, particularly repeated ones. For example, it was established that 70 percent of the petitions addressed to all possible bodies dealt with housing problems in Berdichev, the second most important and largest town in the oblast. For that reason the oblast executive committee sent a competent commission to the city which made a thorough investigation of the housing records kept by the city soviet itself and at big enterprises, including the observance of registration regulations, exchange of apartments and so on. Cases of abuse in housing allocations were revealed, such as assigning unjustifiable priorities. Old housing was being neglected. The repair services lacked even a plan-schedule for work. This was followed by a meeting of the city soviet and the city party committee bureau at which the situation was suitably assessed and the necessary conclusions were reached. Action was brought against those who had illegally obtained or traded apartments. The officials in charge of housing records and allocation were replaced and so were the managers of the repair-construction administration; some senior workers were reprimanded. The decisive measures which were taken played a positive role. The Berdichev City Soviet Executive Committee is currently correcting the errors.

Order is being brought in work with letters and with the reception of citizens by other executive committees of rayon, rural and settlement soviets as well. For example, all letters received by the Chernyakhovskiy Rayon Executive Committee are mandatorily recorded the same day and studied by the

chairman of his deputy, after which, armed with the official's signature, they are sent to the executive in charge. Open letter days become popular in this rayon, particularly those dealing with specific topics such as the implementation of the Food Program, the resolutions of the latest CPSU Central Committee plenums and so on. Materials from such meetings are published in the rayon newspaper and broadcast on the local radio. The following method is used in their preparation and holding: a place is chosen in advance, taking into consideration the origin of most complaints and petitions, and the agenda is established. Two to 3 weeks before the appointed day an announcement is published informing the citizens that they can submit to a specific official of the rural soviet questions of interest. Such conferences are chaired by the party raykom secretary or the chairman of the rayon executive committee. The questions are announced publicly and answered by the rayon managers according to sector. For example, 12 officials and more than 200 people attended the open letter day in Chernyakhovskiy Sovkhoz. The discussion took a practical and frank turn. Specific steps were earmarked regarding some complaints and suggestions (delayed delivery of commodities, organization of centers to accept surplus agricultural commodities from the population, strengthen patrol service by the militia and the people's voluntary units, organizing more efficient prosecutors' supervision and so on); in the case of others deadlines were established for the elimination of shortcomings and the officials personally responsible for such steps were named.

Each open letter day is mandatorily followed by listing the steps needed for the implementation of the suggestions, petitions and critical remarks expressed by the participants. As a rule, the managers of the respective services and departments subsequently report to the public the implementation of resolutions based on the letters. Such meetings between party, soviet and economic managers and the population significantly reduce the number of repeat complaints, enhance the moral climate in labor collectives and increase the responsibility of leading cadres for the prompt and attentive consideration of petitions and suggestions of the working people.

Rural rallies and meetings of collectives of enterprises, establishments and schools at which letters sent to the party and soviet organs are studied and reports are submitted on the steps taken in this connection have become more regular. This helps to determine the substantiation of complaints and public opinion and, above all, to resolve a number of problems on the spot, thus eliminating the need for further correspondence.

The flow of petitions and suggestions submitted by the working people to the Zhitomir Oblast Executive Committee on socially significant problems increased somewhat after the CPSU Central Committee Politburo consideration of problems of letters sent to the party's Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in December 1982. This confirms not that work in the oblast has worsened but that the people have become more active and more involved in the affairs of their city, town, enterprise or kolkhoz. This has increased the concern of the managers and eased the overall efforts to uproot shortcomings.

Naturally, visitors and petitioners are not always right. Nor is it possible to satisfy each just request immediately. Unfortunately, however, there also are cases of formal answers which trigger new complaints and force the people again and again to visit official offices.

In 1983 the oblast executive committee alone received 606 second letters. Naturally, their authors include people who, although receiving a substantiated refusal, take up the pen nevertheless. However, we consider not them but the just requests on which steps should have been taken a long time ago. If a request or a wish cannot be met substantiated reasons should be given or at least a rough deadline set for the solution of the problem. This would eliminate the need for useless trips or unnecessary correspondence and remove the ground for all possible fabrications and rumors. That is precisely why the officials in Zhitomir Oblast try to determine cases of red tape and formal and callous attitude toward critical remarks and various petitions. This has yielded results. In particular, in the first 6 months of last year the number of repeated complaints sent to the executive committees of local soviets declined by 21 percent compared to the same period in 1982. The efficient processing of letters and control over the prompt and proper solution of problems have been organized almost ubiquitously; schedules for meetings between officials and the population are observed both in the premises of the executive committees as well as at enterprises, establishments, schools, kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

It is true that this is hardly always done thoroughly and skillfully, in accordance with legal regulations. The reason is the insufficient knowledge and experience of some managers. Seminars on current legislation and new methods of working with letters and organizing the reception of the working people are held on a monthly basis to enhance the practical skills.

Occasionally the oblast and rayon organizations receive letters from people who, to put it mildly, do not properly interpret one problem or another. Frequently, their authors themselves are unscrupulous people who hope to bring a commission and force it to check "facts," and to plant doubts and rumors (where there is smoke there is fire, they claim). Sometimes, however, the investigators agree with the suggested conditions of the game according to which maximum attention must be paid to each complaint. We believe that here we have a most elementary fear of making a decision based on a clearly libelous treatment and to calling things by their right names.

It is difficult and often simply impossible to determine the number of man-hours which such sterile investigations and reinvestigations of some so-called urgent signals and complaints of local difficulties cost the state. For example, V. A. Androshchuk, a resident of Zhitomir, has flooded a number of establishments with his complaints. The core of his claim is that the city authorities are not reacting to his request for a more spacious and better housing, although his apartment has all the necessary facilities and is consistent with the norms of hygiene. Regardless of how often the improper nature of such requests has been explained to him, he continues to complain and tries to attain his goal by all possible means. In such cases one of the efficient obstacles which could be erected to such tireless petitioners

is to read their letters publicly at their place of residence or work. Let the people tell them frankly what they think of them.

Let us also mention group and collective letters. They deserve particular attention for, as a rule, most of them raise questions of major social significance. Such letters are mandatorily checked by commissions, whose conclusions are discussed at meetings of respective executive committees or sessions of soviets of people's deputies.

Here are excerpts from such complaints: "Our cooperative house (No 80 Shelushkov Street, Zhitomir) was delivered with a faulty heating system. During the winter the apartments are cold." Here is another: "We turn to you with a rather topical and sensitive request to help us to organize the normal work of bus line No 19. Frequently only one bus travels along this route, for which reason we are late for work and violate the discipline." Let us immediately say that the oblast executive committee took steps in this matter. The question is the following: Should these and many other questions be resolved locally? Unquestionably this can be done if the managers of the respective organizations display responsiveness and concern for the people and a greater feeling of responsibility for assignments."

Naturally, some collective letters may prove to be groundless and hasty, and not well thought out. An unknown resident of Ignatpol village, Ovruchskiy Rayon, conceived the idea of the need for immediately building a reinforced concrete bridge across the Zherev River, although the big bridge on the Minsk-Izmail Road is nearby. A collective letter on this subject made the rounds of all superior bodies. The problem was resolved at a rural rally in the presence of representatives of the oblast and the rayon. They explained to the villagers that building such a bridge would cost no less than a million rubles. No urgent need for such a bridge exists, for a bridge for all types of transportation, open on a year-round basis, exists in the vicinity.

In this case the essence of the kolkhoz members' statements was the following: "We are the state. Therefore, the pocket of the treasury is our own and we must handle the funds responsibly. We are interested in what empowers authors of such letters to act on our behalf. Before organizing the writing of such letters a general meeting should be held." Nothing can be added to such wise words.

The responsive and attentive attitude toward letters and verbal addresses by the citizens and the efficient and competent solution of the problems they raise is a major prerequisite for observing the Leninist principles of work with the masses and the exercise of the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens. The skillful use of such channels for live contacts with the masses is one of the most reliable and valuable sources of information on their demands and expectations of working people in town and country. However, the most reliable contacts and shortest way to the hearts of the people are possible when they are welcomed with an open heart, sincerity and warmth.

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CSO: 1802/9

SOVIETS AND EDUCATING THE WORKING PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84) pp 40-45

[Article by Kh. Bokov, Checheno-Ingush ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman]

[Text] The Checheno-Ingush ASSR is one of the 20 autonomous republics in our country. Here members of more than 60 nations and nationalities live and work along with the native populations. The working people of Checheno-Ingushetiya are actively participating in building communism, together with the entire Soviet people, making a substantial contribution to the all-union treasury, delivering to the national economy petroleum products, machines, instruments, vegetables, fruits and wine. In accordance with the Fundamental Law of the Soviet State it has, like the other autonomous republics, its own constitution which takes into consideration the national and demographic features of the population. The local bodies of popular rule--the soviets of people's deputies--starting with rural and settlement and ending with the republic's supreme soviet, are organized on its basis.

What could be said of the activities of the soviets today and of the specifics of the work of the local soviets after the adoption of the new USSR constitution?

The most noteworthy phenomenon of the period is the substantial increase in the influence of the soviets of all grades on the various areas of economic and cultural construction and the energizing of the activities of the soviet institutions, deputy groups and commissions in the implementation of national economic tasks and strengthening the vanguard role of the deputies in resolving problems of social and economic life. The soviet organs have begun to deal with problems of the work of industrial and agricultural enterprises more extensively and, above all, more profoundly coordinate and supervise their activities aimed at improving the economic mechanism and to participate in the management of social processes.

Substantial changes have also taken place in the nature of relations between soviet organs and party, trade union, Komsomol and other social organizations. Ties among them have strengthened. At the same time, common projects are carried out through ways and means specific to the individual organizations with reciprocal help but without duplication. Let us particularly emphasize the increased help which the republic's party committee gives the soviet bodies.

Under socialist conditions the communist party is the political leader of society and its directives are implemented by all social units, including the soviets. In accordance with the Leninist principle which was already reflected in the resolutions of the Eighth RKP(b) Congress, their activities are implemented through the soviet organs and within the framework of the Soviet constitution. However, although guiding the activities of the soviets the party does not substitute for them. It is precisely this general party principle which is the foundation for relations between the party organizations in our autonomous republic and the local soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees. Party committees see to it that the soviet organs and their commissions implement the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, make even fuller and more efficient use of their rights and enhance their reputation and increase the responsibility to the working people even further.

Party committees are concerned with the selection, placement and education of leading cadres. Characteristically, virtually all managers of soviet bodies have taken courses in party work at enterprises, establishments, raykoms, gorkoms and the obkom.

One-third of the deputies in the local soviets of the autonomous republic are CPSU members. It is precisely they who play a vanguard role in their collectives, setting an example of strict implementation of civic and social duties, efficiently promoting the party line and fulfilling their functions as representatives of the people in a model fashion. The party groups within the soviets, which concentrate their efforts on strengthening state discipline and improving the work style, greatly influence the activities of the soviets. Primary party organizations totaling more than 1,000 party members have been organized in all city and rayon executive committees.

The practical activities of the party group in the Groznyy City Soviet is a model of comprehensive and efficient work. It is headed by Deputy N. I. Semenov, party gorkom first secretary. It numbers 173 party members. They participate in the permanent deputy commissions. They discuss in advance the candidacies at their meetings and in drafting questions and bills to be submitted at the session and hear reports submitted by party member-deputies.

Speaking of improvements in the workstyle of the local soviets and the establishments of new trends in their activities, let us particularly note their educational function.... Unfortunately, this function is poorly covered in press materials which analyze experience in soviet work, although from their very beginning the soviets have been and remain a powerful instrument for the education of the million-strong masses. In implementing the party's plans, the people's deputies embodied the party's policy through their actual accomplishments. In resolving specific problems in their sessions or the meetings of the various commissions, they become involved with the mechanism of state management. The daily practice of deputy activities develops in them a feeling of social duty, collectivism and interest in achieving set objectives.

The 210 soviets of people's deputies which exist in our autonomous republic number almost 10,000 people. They participate in the formulation of the

plans for the social and economic development of villages, settlements, rayons and cities and the entire republic. The deputies, who participate in the work of deputy commissions, groups and posts and who analyze and carry out the instructions of the voters, directly implement the party's policy aimed at the good of the people.

We rely in our work on the aktiv of the local soviets, numbering currently 120,000 people. In other words, every deputy is helped by more than 10 activists, all of them involved, to one extent or another, in the state management system.

Under the conditions of our multinational country the soviets of people's deputies have become a school for true internationalism in which friendship among the peoples develops and strengthens in the course of joint work. Our autonomous republic is named after two native nationalities--the Chechen and the Ingush. In addition to them, here Russians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Ossets, Kabardians and Kalmyks, as well as members of other nations and nationalities, live and work. All of them are represented in the local soviets. Twenty-two of the most worthy working people of Checheno-Ingushetiya reliably protect its interests in the supreme power organs of the USSR and the Russian Federation. Now, when a new electoral campaign is under way, once again the people have nominated the sons and daughters of different nationalities as their candidates. At meetings and assemblies the working people nominate the best among them, those who through their toil, social concern and high moral qualities have earned a reputation among the people. They include the Chechens S. Z. Umalatova, an electric welder, and shepherd I. M. Mamayev, the Ingush M. E. Sautiyeva, a drainage operator and fitter T. D. Khalguyev, the Russians N. M. Chebotayeva, calf breeder, and drilling worker N. V. Bashminov and other comrades.

We know the tremendous importance which our party ascribes to enhancing the individual responsibility of every worker, to the unity between word and deed, to the implementation of plans and resolutions and to the efficient observance of discipline. The participation of the people's representatives in the work of deputy commissions, groups and posts and the strict implementation of the instructions of the voters have become effective means for developing the people's responsibility for assignments.

We ascribe great importance to the reports which the deputies submit to the voters. Such meetings, in which their activities are objectively assessed, are usually attended by the entire adult population of villages, settlements and microrayons. Furthermore, executive committees and their departments report to the republic's working people. Thanks to the extensive publicity given to the work of the soviet bodies, the citizens are regularly informed about the implementation of resolutions which, as a rule, triggers a steady influx of new suggestions. The deputies are entrusted with enhancing the responsibility of leading cadres for the results of their activities.

Resolving the various problems at rural rallies organized by the local soviets has a tremendous educational impact. This real and very effective form of truly democratic decision-making has lately gotten a second wind.

Whereas previously the rallies dealt mainly with communal problems such as, for example, public works and the work of children's institutions and trade organizations, today they deal with upgrading the labor and social activity of the people, moral and ethical problems and the way of life of individual fellow villagers.

Frequently seemingly insoluble problems are resolved at such rallies. Thus, there was a danger that the commissioning of animal husbandry farms would be thwarted in Nazranovskiy Rayon. Despite the rather strong pressure applied by the rayon and even the republic leadership, the construction organizations claimed that they would be unable to complete this project on time. One of the reasons claimed was the shortage of manpower. The question was then submitted for consideration by the population itself. The people warmly responded to the appeal to help through words and actions. In the course of the discussions practical suggestions were made and the participants in the rally expressed their readiness to roll up their sleeves and get to work. Thirteen additional construction brigades were set up by the rayon's population. The construction of the projects was completed on time. It was frequently said subsequently that it was precisely this rally which helped the people to feel and realize more profoundly the strength of the collective to consolidate their confidence that together they could surmount any difficulty.

Here is another example. The mountainous Nozhay-Yurtovskiy Rayon was among the laggards for quite some time. A study conducted on the initiative of the rayon soviet led to the conclusion that the situation could be corrected by cultivating a profitable crop such as tobacco. However, the rayon managers who tried to implement the idea met with the unexpected opposition of the population. It was as though they had conspired in advance by claiming that tobacco should not be cultivated for it was harmful to the health. The reasons for this "amazing" unanimity became clear soon afterwards. The point was that the local clergy had, in the past, illegally taken over many neglected plots of land (in addition to their private plots assigned to them as they are to any rural resident). The produce from such plots went straight to the market. Frightened by the fact that tobacco cultivation would expose their arbitrary seizure of the land, they began to muddy the waters and to curse tobacco in the name of the Koran. That is what was brought out at the rally. Members of the soviet also said that tobacco was not only smoked but extensively used in pharmacology for the manufacturing of drugs which cured many diseases. All of this convinced the rural population to vote in favor. As time proved, the people were not wrong. It was precisely tobacco which helped to improve the situation of the rayon. No less important was the fact that in the course of the rally the moral turpitude of the clergy who were misleading the people was exposed. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that since then the number of smokers in the village has not increased.

The local soviets and their organs steadily deal with problems of culture, education and the moral training of the growing generations and their physical maturing. They are in charge of building, equipping and organizing the work of preschool establishments, schools, houses of culture, and sports stadiums and clubs.

The organization of school training is a question which is always discussed at sessions of the local soviets and deputy commissions and at meetings with the voters. What makes them even more important is the fact that many schools operate in remote mountain areas. The existing difficulties are explained by the lack of roads, the small size of the settlements and the shortage of cadres. Thanks to the efforts of the soviets today there is no village in our area not covered by the Law on Universal Secondary Education.

Let us note that on the request of the population classes in general education schools in Checheno-Ingushetiya are taught in the Russian language. This is entirely natural in a multinational area where a language for international communication is vitally necessary. However, tremendous preparatory work had to be done before the new system could be adopted. Initially soviet activists surveyed the parents in all cities and settlements in the republic. In accordance with their wishes, we gradually trained the necessary number of teachers in pedagogical institutes and special courses. Textbooks and method and visual aids were printed on time. The local languages were not neglected in the least. They are studied in the schools as one of the subjects, which does not lower the quality of the teaching in the least. As a result of the introduction of the new system our school graduates no longer experience linguistic difficulties in enrolling in various institutes, working at the Komsomol-youth construction projects in Siberia and the Nonchernozem, serving in the Soviet army or participating in athletic competitions which may be held in the Baltic area or in the Transcaucasus.

The more active participation of the soviets in the party's ideological and mass political work is a distinguishing feature of our time. The soviets are increasingly dealing with problems of ideological, moral and labor upbringing. They are guided in their activities by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree which defines the tasks of the local soviets in implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." In making their contribution to the system of communist upbringing of labor collectives, the soviet organs are also energizing their activities in the microrayons, housing managements and hostels.

Recently our republic's supreme soviet presidium considered the question of the organization of educational work by the soviet of people's deputies in Zavodskiy Rayon in Groznyy. Here deputy groups helped to energize the activities of voluntary social activity bodies--housing, street and district committees, councils in cultural and educational institutions and hostels, comrades' courts and centers for the preservation of the public order. They help in the education of the youth and in preparing them for socially useful labor. They organize cultural recreation and rest of the population and resolve problems related to observing public order in city microrayons.

Ideological education covers a number of areas. It must take into consideration the demographic, national and age population structure as well as local conditions, traditions and customs. Some problems are particularly important in Checheno-Ingushetiya. One of them is the disparity which has developed between available manpower and the need for it in the national economy. The improved well-being of the population has had a somewhat unexpected effect:

large rural families include totally unemployed people while enterprises and kolkhozes are experiencing acute manpower shortages. Furthermore, we cannot fail to be concerned by the fact that in a number of areas people are focusing their energy on personal needs. Some promote their own well-being by hiring out for seasonal work sometimes 10,000 kilometers away. Others try to acquire more possessions by frequently violating the law.

Taking the relevance of such problems into consideration, with the help of the deputy commissions and groups the soviet organs studied the local situation, determined the nature and scale of participation of the local population in seasonal work beyond the republic, determined the reasons which hinder the job placement of young people, identified individuals who avoided socially useful labor and planned steps to eliminate negative phenomena. Sessions by local soviets and rural and settlement rallies will be held throughout the republic at which discussions will take place on the way the citizens observe the obligation to work and conscientiously to obey labor legislation. A special session will be held by the Checheno-Ingush ASSR Supreme Soviet at which a system of supervising the measure of labor and consumption will be drafted. We took as a base for such preparatory work the stipulations in Yu. V. Andropov's article "Karl Marx's Theory and Some Problems of Socialist Construction in the USSR," which discusses, in particular, the importance of strictly observing the principle of distribution according to labor.

The struggle against all customs which sometimes hinder socioeconomic progress is one of the permanent trends in the work of the soviets and their bodies. As a rule, such customs are based on Islamic law--the Shariat--and the unwritten code of rules, the adat, as it is known in the Caucasus. Both are reactionary. For example, the Shariat sanctifies private property and the unequal semislavery situation of women. The adat "blesses" the abduction of brides and orders relatives to conceal even criminal actions. It is precisely the adat, which is rooted in ancient history, which proves to be more stubborn and difficult to eliminate.

The soviets and their bodies are engaged in a decisive struggle against reactionary traditions. They try to develop efficient law and order. They expose the self-seeking and illegal actions of the clergy. We consider the propaganda of scientific and materialistic views and the atheistic education of the population one of the most important directions in our efforts. We are doing this work together with the Knowledge Society. Many local soviet deputies are members of the society. Cycles of lectures, talks and topic evenings are organized at enterprises, establishments, microrayons, settlements and villages. Many deputies are engaged in individual work with the believers. All of this, combined with strict control over the observance of legislation on religious cults, is yielding noticeable results. In particular, the religious communities have broken down in many rayons.

We pay great attention to the new Soviet ceremonies and rituals, which are becoming increasingly popular with every passing year and are related to births, coming of age and entering a labor career. Komsomol marriages are ubiquitous and the number of mixed marriages is increasing steadily.

These and other universally accepted civic ceremonies are of a clearly expressed collectivistic and internationalist nature.

The soviets and their bodies are engaged in ideological-political work through their specific means, helping the party organizations in the republic in all areas of ideological, moral and labor upbringing. We are showing as much concern as we can for the working and living conditions of the population. We closely follow the solution of problems of public education, culture, health care, physical culture and sports.

Currently the efforts of thousands of people's representatives are concentrated on implementing the resolutions of the December 1983 Plenum of our party's Central Committee, which directed the economic and organizational work of party, trade union and Komsomol organs and local soviets to the strict implementation of the State Plan and the utilization of opportunities for its overfulfillment. Yu. V. Andropov pointed out that the guarantee for our success is the mobilization of the masses, the creative attitude of the people toward assignments and the further development of socialist competition.

The working people of Checheno-Ingushetiya have entered the fourth year of the five-year plan with a good feeling. A widespread search for additional reserves has developed among all labor collectives and in all economic sectors. One of the first to identify new possibilities and to adopt higher pledges was the collective of the Groznyy Production Association imeni 60-Letiya SSSR Orgtekhnika, which resolved to increase labor productivity by 1 percent above the plan and lower production costs by 0.5 percent. This initiative was supported by the Groznefteorgsintez Production Association, a very large enterprise. One of the initiators of this step was Nikolay Ivanovich Vedernikov, a deputy to the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic and senior operator at the Groznyy Petroleum Refinery imeni Lenin (currently nominated for the USSR Supreme Soviet). At other enterprises as well dozens of deputies are organizing the competition for above-plan output. All labor collectives in the republic are successfully competing today for ahead-of-schedule implementation of the State Plan and we shall apply all our forces honorably to implement the party's tasks.

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CSO: 1802/9

UPBRINGING IN SCHOOL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84) pp 46-57

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof A. Kharchev, editor in chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA]

[Text] The school is a social institution the importance of which is not limited to the present. Historical prospects, the future of the people, assume flesh and blood in the school. It is here that tomorrow and the day after tomorrow are born. The purpose of the school is not only to impart knowledge to the young people but to train them as citizens of the socialist society and as active builders of communism with its specific "ideological concepts, morality and interests, and high labor and behavioral standards" (Yu. V. Andropov).

Our past, present and future accomplishments have been, are and will be largely the accomplishments of the school teachers; to a considerable extent our difficulties are the result of errors and unfinished work in the school. That is why the decision of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on school reform was welcomed by all Soviet people with such joy and hope. This is the most convincing proof of the fact that the fate of the school or, more precisely, the fate of the new generations is not a matter of concern for a narrow circle of education specialists but of every Soviet citizen, for they share a very great responsibility for the consequences of the decisions which must be made, so that they may reflect as completely as possible overall social experience, the results of the study of the problems of Soviet social management facing the schools and, in particular, Marxist-Leninist sociology and scientific communism.

The purpose of the reform is to concretize and implement the programmatic stipulations of the party on the need to enhance educational and ideological work and prepare the young people for life and professional work on a new qualitative level consistent with the conditions and requirements of a developed socialist society and to surmount, as was stipulated at the June Plenum, "major shortcomings in this area."

It is precisely this twin purpose which is the essence of the reform. To present matters as though so far everything was generally adequate within the system of general and vocational training and to say that it is merely a question of making this system consistent with "growing requirements" would mean to present a situation on the basis of which half-measures would be sufficient where effective and radical steps must be taken.

Specifically, what are the characteristics of the situation which called for a reform, and what are, in this connection, the most important trends of the latter? In order to answer these questions let us look at the most important party documents and results of scientific studies.

The CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th Party Congress described the condition of public education as follows: "A major line has been reached: the conversion to mandatory universal secondary education has been completed. The main thing now is to improve the quality of training and labor and moral upbringing in the schools, to eliminate formalism in assessing the results of the work of teachers and students and practically strengthen the link between training and life and to improve the training of students for socially useful labor.... The quality of curriculums and textbooks must be improved as well. It has been accurately noted that they are excessively complex. This hinders the training and unjustifiably overburdens the children. The Ministry of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences must correct this situation immediately." This is a clear indication of the many serious omissions in school activities, which must be firmly eliminated. Such omissions apply not to individual phenomena but to the very essence of schoolwork and style of school management, which were assessed quite critically. This style is countered by the factual strengthening of the ties between training and life and the application in the training and educational process of essentially new, not formally quantitative but qualitative indicators and, most importantly, the enhancement of their significance. The congress's instructions, which remain entirely relevant today, are based on the fact that even the objective opportunities existing within the current public education system have been hardly utilized. Consequently, the reasons for the shortcomings should be sought above all, as was emphasized at the June Central Committee Plenum, "in the current practice, the errors of some workers and the real problems and difficulties of our development."

We know that school graduates begin life as a rule without having acquired sufficiently firm habits for productive toil and substantiated vocational guidance, without the profound conviction for the need to work according to their capabilities and with an equally profound rejection of dependency. Infantilism, the underdeveloped feeling of responsibility, a passive attitude and a consumerist attitude toward life have become factors which seriously lower the effectiveness of making a certain segment of the youth part of the socioprofessional structure of the society. The school-production combines were a good system for training students for professional-labor activities. However, their organization was not completed, as a result of which only a small percentage of graduates subsequently practice the skills acquired in the combines. Hence the considerable turnover of young people who are just beginning their professional careers as workers and the relatively high number of individuals who remain dependent on their parents or are satisfied with accidental and not always legal earnings for long periods of time after their graduation.

The high percentage of student dropouts (including graduates of preparatory classes) from VUZes proves not only that the system for the selection of candidates for higher education is insufficiently effective but also sometimes

fails to meet contemporary requirements concerning the quality of education. The roots for this are found also in the different levels of training of the teachers, their overloading, the notorious percentage mania and the obsolescence of the principles governing the choice of materials to be taught. By calling for a turn toward practice, the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum referred not only to academic but to VUZ and secondary school science. We need a radical rationalization of training programs and concentrating on materials which will be maximally useful to a maximal number of students and methods which develop the logical thinking of the children, their curiosity, their activeness and their scientific and technical knowledge.

The school plays a particularly great and, above all, irreplaceable role in the upbringing of the young generation. The fact that without a general upbringing, without molding an active civic stance in the students makes impossible a quality training, active acquisition and maximally efficient application of their knowledge and labor skills is a long-confirmed truth. The CPSU Central Committee draft reminds us in a timely way of V. I. Lenin's words and his behest to educators: "The entire matter of upbringing, education and training of modern youth must be the development of a communist morality within it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 309).

However, so far educational work has been practically removed from curriculums. The school subjects do not include ethics, psychology or even elementary norms of communication and behavior. Not a single inspector or method worker in the rayon public education departments deals especially with upbringing in the schools. As a result, the system of socialist values described in class has an insufficient influence on the practical behavior of the students. In other words, although informing the students of the values, the school does not engage (or engages very little) in shaping individual value orientations among its students; it has neither a method nor a systematized and scientifically summed-up experience in this area.

Occasionally the education collectives react with unjustified calm to manifestations of philistine and petit bourgeois mentality displayed in relations among and actions by individual students, although a consumerist trend developed in some families and negative environmental phenomena easily develop into an objectivistic attitude toward bourgeois values in general and become a specifically ideological problem. Rating one's comrades according to clothing, "connections," or the material status of the family, and the predominance of Western (by far not the best) fashions, mannerisms and music tastes are widespread phenomena. The struggle against triteness, tastelessness, rudeness and boorishness as means of asserting the "rights of the strong" is an exceptionally important aspect in ideological training, which is largely and precisely the concern of the school. However, school "measures" related to ideological upbringing usually assign second priority to or totally ignore this aspect. Meanwhile, the attention is focused on topics which can be developed in class considerably better and more extensively and are discussed in the press and on the radio and television. As a result, triteness, tastelessness and rudeness become customary in relations among students and in their attitude toward adults. Yet these are forms of anti-

social behavior and a limit beyond which sometimes criminal behavior begins. Naturally, the reform cannot ignore the fact that approximately 40 percent of minor delinquents are secondary or vocational school students and that there still exist adolescents who neither study nor work and the percentage of whom among criminals is quite impressive, as well as the fact that only one-half of minor criminals have an education consistent with their age; the percentage of untrained (not to mention uneducated) adolescents is even higher among perpetrators of severe crimes.

In addition to the scientific neglect of problems of preventing delinquent behavior and immoral actions among students and the generally insufficient attention paid to such problems (as indicated in the CPSU Central Committee draft), the situation is worsened by the fact that school and vocational school students are increasingly consuming alcoholic beverages. This trend threatens to develop into a kind of tradition, for a certain percentage of parents and even educators tends to justify the availability of alcohol at school evenings and pay no attention to the fact that students show up intoxicated in the streets, in public places and even at school.

Scientists and the public are concerned and even alarmed not in the least because they consider this situation irreparable or our schools incapable of assuming their share of work and responsibility for resolving arising problems. However, before resolving a problem one must be aware of it. One must determine the reasons for the developing situation and realize at least two circumstances: the fact that the school needs not to correct "isolated shortcomings but precisely a reform, a radical restructuring of the work methods and indicators themselves and the fact that we are able to catch up, for the possibilities of socialism in this area are far broader and vaster than of any other socioeconomic system. Therefore, anything which helps to mobilize and implement such opportunities, including a profound objective scientific study of the existing situation with its difficulties and contradictions, should be used in preparing the reform and its implementation.

In turn, the new conditions and new requirements which dictate the need for reform include two groups of factors. The first, reflected in the draft, is that "at the present stage the interests of the fast and harmonious development of the economy and culture, the improvement of social relations and the political superstructure and of man himself as the main productive force and highest value of society require a new, a broader approach to the education and upbringing of the growing generations." The second group of factors--the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution--substantially complicate the process of molding the individual and, particularly, the fulfillment by the school of its education-ideological functions which face it with tasks which previously could be formulated only as purely abstract concepts. Unfortunately, the draft does not deal with them although such problems have been elaborated in sufficient detail in Soviet sociological publications. It is a question of the influence on the mentality, consciousness and behavior of the individual and human interrelationships and need for and development of migration processes exerted by urbanization, the growth of communication and information loads, extended duration of training, the aggravation of ecological problems and other changes concerning which the school can and must perform an important compensating function.

Specifically, what does this refer to? Human behavior (as it is precisely human behavior rather than knowledge per se which is the end target of school efforts) is a complex dialectical interaction among the various sides of his subjective "I" (needs, interests, motivations, value orientations, desire, and so on), on the one hand, and between the subject and objective circumstances, on the other. Among the latter the strongest influence on the process of "planning" an action (naturally, unless it is purely impulsive) is that of social control, which is manifested in social expectations and evaluations, public opinion, and the system of penalties applied by society should a person violate the norms of morality, traditions and the interests of society at large. Stability, directness, interest and activeness of social control are the most important prerequisites for its effectiveness and, consequently, for proper human behavior. Should these prerequisites be lacking or weakened, the mere knowledge of how to behave under a given set of circumstances in order to ensure (in principle) the consistency between his actions and the social norms is no longer sufficient. The objective need appears to develop in the people's ability for self-control. This is particularly important among the adolescents, whose social maturing, stimulated above all by professional labor activities, is delayed because of the lengthened period of training and, therefore, the dependent status, while physical maturity, conversely, is accelerated. This creates a conflict between active aspiration toward adulthood and the absence of a sociomoral base for such aspiration. Under these circumstances developing in the students not merely knowledge but unity among knowledge, convictions and practical actions becomes the most important task of schools and vocational training schools, for the solution of this problem also determines the social behavior of the students and their attitude toward training, labor, the dignity of the individual and the values of socialism. The Marxist-Leninist outlook is the nucleus of this unity and its ideological foundation.

The CPSU Central Committee draft on school reform emphasizes the importance of developing such an outlook among the students. However, the tasks related to it are limited only to the molding of firm materialistic concepts, atheistic views, ability properly to interpret natural and social phenomena and readiness to engage in creative transforming efforts. Comrade K. U. Chernenko's report to the June Plenum provides a more extensive and profound description of the role of the communist outlook and, correspondingly, the problems which should be emphasized in developing it; in particular, it is a question of the ability independently to assess social phenomena, to see the link between current tasks and end objectives and engage in substantiated polemics with any ideological opponent.

Therefore, it is not merely a matter of developing in the young generation "the ability to explain" and "readiness for activity" but, above all, to turn it into conscious, i.e., convinced fighters for the party's cause, fighters who do not simply know, but are able also to act in accordance with their duty and conscience as Soviet citizens to whom an outlook does not consist merely of "concepts" and "views" but a logic of thinking and behavior, i.e., who must have suitably oriented feelings and desires.

We believe that if a communist outlook is interpreted in terms of the first of these formulations, even lessons within the current curriculum may be

sufficient to develop it; however, if we take as a base the plenum's formulation, it becomes necessary for the school to pay far greater attention to the humanities, ethics and aesthetics in particular. As we know, moral maturity and firmness of political conviction are interrelated values. The absence of a reliable moral foundation may reduce political activities to politicking; in turn, aesthetic underdevelopment deprives political and moral upbringing of a powerful tool such as art and the need to experience and create beauty and, therefore (if the concept of beauty is properly understood) goodness as well.

The formulation contained in the report by Comrade K. U. Chernenko has yet another important advantage: it emphasizes the essential conceptual function of developing in a person the ability independently to assess social phenomena. This ability is necessary to the modern youth also as a prerequisite for its socially proper behavior under circumstances of weakened traditional forms of social control and as a guarantee for a rational selection of information under the conditions of information overloads and the ideological pollution of the air by "radio voices."

Furthermore, people encounter on a daily basis difficulties and contradictions the attitude to which depends on the proper assessment of the situation itself, on the one hand, and the possibility of the socialist system to overcome them and the individual role of man in this process, on the other. Obviously, the conceptual factors are of decisive importance in this case.

Therefore, the draft should reflect more fully and accurately the tremendous role of the Marxist-Leninist outlook in shaping not only the thinking but the entire activities of modern youth and to combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, which presumes the neutralizing of some of its consequences which could adversely affect the development of the personality. In this case not only noting this concept is important but also formulating the task of developing a communist outlook in the entire fullness and depth of its content as a priority in schoolwork, i.e., adopting an approach to education as a structural component of the upbringing, rather than vice versa.

Therefore, item No 9 of the draft, in my view, should be better formulated approximately as follows: "The most important and permanent objective of the Soviet school is to mold the personality of the future members of society, to develop in them a communist outlook, to provide the growing generation with profound and durable knowledge of the foundations of science and to develop the skill and ability to apply them in practical work. In accordance with this objective it is necessary to change the curriculum, work methods, textbooks and school aids and the system of teachers' training."

Practical experience and the topical need of school reform prove the harmfulness of the quite popular thesis in pedagogical publications of the so-called "upbringing education," i.e., reducing upbringing to an incidental problems resolved primarily on the verbal level in the course of teaching the material. Unquestionably, training could and should educate. However, there is training and training. For example, if literature is taught in accordance with the traditional method, the aesthetic and, consequently, the moral and

political returns of such training would be purely nominal. If the attention of the working people is directed toward the qualities of the studied work which determine its specific aesthetic perception and the moral and political involvement of the readers with the life reflected in the work, energizing their imagination, emotions and tastes, the educational effect of such teaching would be substantially greater. Therefore, the true "educational training" is, in a certain sense, different from training as it is today. It will require a higher not only "subject" but ethical, aesthetic and sociopsychological training of the teachers and the writing of textbooks oriented toward resolving not only training but educational problems as well.

The main thing is that even if the school substantially enhances the educational returns of training it has no right to abandon upbringing as the primary and broader target the reaching of which will raise to a new qualitative level the attitude of the students toward their studies, work and life as a whole. The successful training is greatly determined by the development of the intellectual interests of the child, whereas civic infantilism, as V. A. Sukhomlinskiy said, inevitably leads to the narrowing of such interests. Consequently, continuity of education and training is needed to a no lesser (if not greater) extent than training and education. Finally, education should not be delayed for, to begin with, psychology proves with increasing clarity the existence of unique periods of peak receptiveness by the child and the adolescent to social influences and, secondly, wherever we are unable to instill our influence frequently a different influence is instilled, for in this area, as anywhere else, nature does not tolerate a vacuum.

Learning is a lifetime process. Furthermore, the later the training (naturally, within limits), the more purposeful, profitable, and organically related to man's professional interests, it becomes. Naturally, this does not mean in the least the thwarting of education. The entire matter is what to learn and how. Let us ask ourselves a simple question: What is more important in terms of the future life of the students: knowledge of the reasons for upheavals in the earth's crust or changes in the person's mentality and moods?

The latter, naturally. However, natural science is taught from the very first grades while the science of human behavior (unless reduced to anatomy and physiology) is totally absent. Let us add to this that some of the scientific information which, in accordance with the current curriculums overburdens the memory of the students, leave very underloaded their souls, although the scientific information becomes obsolete after a while and some of it proves to be totally unnecessary. Furthermore, a great deal of information must be memorized although, if necessary, it could be found in an encyclopedia or a reference work. Therefore, the 25th CPSU Congress foresightedly stated that "under contemporary conditions, when the volume of knowledge needed by man is increasing drastically and rapidly, it is no longer possible to rely mainly on mastering a specific amount of facts. It is important to develop the ability independently to expand one's knowledge and to be able to orient oneself in the fast stream of scientific and political information. A great amount of work awaits us in this area."

Continuous education is an imperative of the time. The most important thing here is not to pack the programs with more natural scientific information but to ensure a profound and durable mastery of the foundations of scientific thinking, to shape and develop logic and the human intellect and interest in and ability for independent work initially with textbooks and, subsequently, with any book containing information which may be needed immediately or in the immediate future. Therefore, in defining the tasks in grammar school obviously one must begin with developing a standard of behavior and thinking and the ability not only for classroom but independent work as well as a respective attitude toward labor and other values of the socialist society, for as A. S. Makarenko said, "Labor without paralleling education, without paralleling political and social upbringing will not yield educational benefits but will prove to be a neutral process" (A. S. Makarenko, "Soch." [Works]. In seven volumes. Vol 5, Moscow, 1951, p 112).

The labor process is many-faceted if approached as the purposeful outlay of human physical and mental energy. Under socialism, however, labor is the main form of human participation in building socialism and serving the homeland and the people and as a specific practical manifestation of patriotism and internationalism. Therefore, the draft points out, "in improving school activities the party ascribes particular importance to radically improving the training of the young generation for labor."

This raises the exceptionally important specific and practical problem: What does preparing the young people for labor mean? Hardly anyone would dare to claim that at any stage in its development, including the latest, the Soviet school has not tried to resolve this problem. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that whereas such aspiration predetermines results, the results are frequently quite insignificant. The main thing is to have an extremely specific definition of the objectives and methods of work. Obviously, at present we are still unable to merge the training of young people for labor with developing in them the need to work, i.e., the process with its highest, its optimal result. However, the need for labor is manifested not in the least suddenly. It begins to develop from the very first successes achieved in labor education, in the course and on the basis of this enhanced need typical of socialism which was described by Yu. V. Andropov in his work "Karl Marx's Theory and Some Problems of Socialist Construction in the USSR."

In the final account, the nature of the need to work is determined by the qualitative definition of the individual and of labor. We already pointed out that in terms of social maturity, conscientiousness and even culture the contemporary students are a rather heterogeneous mass which includes even individuals with deviating behavioral norms. This is one of the manifestations of the fact that "even when socialist production relations are definitively established, some people will preserve and even reproduce individual customs and desires to live at the expense of others, of society" (Yu. V. Andropov). No particular proof is needed to the effect that such aspirations do not contribute in the least to shaping the need to work and that this contradiction could be surmounted through one method only: education and reeducation. However, the elimination of antisocial and essentially parasitical

ways is merely a prerequisite and, at best, an initial stage in the molding of the socialist personality and preparing it for work. It is important to instill in the person the concept of labor as an obligation, a duty, for the need to fulfill one's social duty is usually shaped and manifested in people earlier than the need for direct labor efforts. The prerequisite for the latter is a socialist upbringing in the full and comprehensive meaning of the term, when a person reacts "not only to his own labor successes and well-being and reputation but the affairs of his fellow workers and the labor collective and the interests of the entire country and the working people the world over" (Yu. V. Andropov). As was pointed out at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, reaching such a level by all young people under circumstances in which the process of development of the personality is complicated by some consequences of the scientific and technical revolution and insufficiently efficient family upbringing calls for a substantial renovation of ideological education work as a whole. It also presumes a more efficient division of labor among the individual institutions engaged in molding the young generation but not, however, on the basis of the principle that some are being primarily trained and others educated, but in accordance with the fact that ideological work in the entire society and each individual institution gives priority and adopts as its main direction the advancement of the socialist way of life.

However, even if we proceed from this prospect it is hard to assume that "developing in every young person a conscious need for work" (Point 1 of the draft) could be considered realistic today. In order to create such a possibility we must resolve on the state level difficult problems such as radically reducing the share of mentally retarded individuals in subsequent generations, substantially enhancing the educational activity of the family and upgrading the effectiveness of the struggle against drunkenness and its influence on youth education and behavior. Therefore, it makes sense to differentiate among the specific tasks of preparing the young people for work based, above all, on the solution of other social problems and proceeding from the fact that the need for work is above all "the high level in the spiritual life of man at which he dedicates himself to serving an ideal" (V. A. Sukhomlinskiy, "Izbr. Ped. Soch." [Selected Pedagogical Works]. In three volumes. Vol 3, Moscow, 1981, p 229).

We consider this stipulation essential not only sociologically but pedagogically as well, for without ensuring a gradual increase in demands facing the pupils or by skipping entire stages in this process the school would inevitably be faced with the threat of a reduced effectiveness of its educational efforts.

Under socialism the human need to work is one of the manifestations of the need for freedom. In noting this connection, K. Marx emphasized the tremendous importance of its organizational and ideological support. "Truly free labor," he wrote, "...is a devilishly serious matter..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." vol 46, part II, p 110).

Freedom is acquired through the elimination of exploitation and antagonism between the individual and society, the elimination of private ownership

alienation and the development of the personality; the main manifestation of the free human will is voluntary constructive socialist work, activeness aimed at the realization of the ideals of socialist humanism. Does the student or the pupil attending a vocational technical school have to know all of this? Yes, as much as the height of Niagara Falls or the mean temperature in January in various parts of the globe, for without such knowledge the adolescent finds himself disarmed in the face of bourgeois demagoguery. He becomes the potential victim of leftist theories presented as "youth culture," ranging from "free love" to total permissiveness in general.

No less than understanding the true nature of values which most actively operate in contemporary social life, the young people need a good aesthetic pace, for it is through the numerous products of bourgeois "mass culture" that the ideas of a "beautiful" empty life, individualism and "elitist" scorn for "nonprestigious" types of work penetrate amongst us. However, "mass culture" has its "Achilles' heel"--its aesthetic baseness and tastelessness. A person with good taste feels toward it nothing but scorn. In other words, since "mass culture" has long become a weapon in the ideological struggle, the problem of developing taste becomes ideological; since work always means the assertion of an aesthetic ideal and activity based on the laws of beauty, art itself, as M. Gorkiy wrote, "was born in deep antiquity out of the processes of human labor." Such education is one of the most important means for a comprehensive, profound and thorough training of the young people for work, the result of which is shaping an inner, an organic need for it.

All such problems are particularly topical precisely in terms of the young generation, for as we noted the period of personality development is a period of self-assertion and increased attention toward moral and aesthetic aspects of behavior. Labor upbringing will benefit to the extent to which it includes these aspects as well and when self-assertion as such is manifested essentially not through smartness, bravado or fashion but through the labor accomplishments of the adolescent and his skill!

On the other hand, those who merely aspire to adulthood and seek a meaning and justification in everything are sickened by unsupported suggestions; more than anything else the adolescents value arguments and proofs. Therefore, it is only by merging direct participation in the labor process and a comprehensive (political, ethical, aesthetic, ecological) interpretation of this participation that the insurmountable gravitation toward real work maximally useful to society may arise, a gravitation toward a "great feeling such as the class," which consists of the essence and need for freedom and for work.

However, maximal usefulness is the consequence not only of psychological attuning to work but the extreme efficiency of the latter. Part of the problem in ensuring such efficiency is resolved on a national scale (labor mechanization and automation, organization and incentive, improved labor conditions). However, in this area a great deal also depends directly on the system of youth upbringing and education. The school plays a particularly great role in the vocational guidance of the students, i.e., in involving them in precisely the type of labor activity to which they are most inclined and in which they could display their individual gifts and capabilities to the greatest extent.

Accusing socialism of "leveling off the individual" and denying or suppressing his individual characteristics, interests, gifts and inclinations are among the favorite "trumps" of anticommunist propaganda. For this reason the concern which runs through the CPSU Central Committee draft for promptly identifying and developing the capabilities of every adolescent and, while developing within him love for any kind of work, at the same time the school trains him to work in accordance with his vocation, is of tremendous ideological importance. However, this is merely one aspect of the problem. No less important is the fact that improving the vocational guidance of the students will greatly increase returns per worker and the efficiency with which the manpower as a whole is utilized and would enhance satisfaction with the work, for it is only the labor of a person who has found himself, who has acquired the possibility of achieving the maximum to which he is capable, could become truly creative and bring the respect of his comrades and public prestige. The definition of "prestigious" in general is abstract when applied merely to one's profession. Prestige means the dignity of a person who is doing his work in a model fashion, for which reason the problem of what to do with nonprestigious professions is also essentially resolved in the course of vocational guidance. In the final account, its effectiveness also determines the microclimate in the collective, for a "worker not in his proper place" is almost always a generator of conflicts, not to mention the fact that, dissatisfied with his professional work, he frequently seeks compensation in other types of activities which sometimes even conflict with social norms.

Therefore, developing a "realized need for labor" (Point 2 of the draft) and "developing love for labor and respect for the working people" (Point 20) become organically related with the ideological and emotional upbringing of the students, on the one hand, and their vocational guidance, on the other. This connection is in the nature of an interaction, for labor is not only an objective but a most effective means of developing the individual, while the quality of vocational guidance directly influences both the attitude toward labor as well as the moral self-assessment and, through it, the entire system of development of the individual and his behavior in the collective, the family and society.

This makes it necessary to consider the fact that, in formulating the tasks of the reform, it would be expedient, first of all, to consider the strengthening not only of polytechnical and practical but of humanistic-ideological directions in education, which has maximal educational opportunities; secondly, to emphasize the interdependence of said tasks and the comprehensive nature of the suggested steps. Furthermore, clearly each task should include, although in most general features, the already enumerated basic conditions and means for its implementation. Thus, in planning radical improvements in labor upbringing we should raise the question not only of the participation of the students in nationwide productive labor but of eliminating the effect of some objective factors which substantially weaken both the desire for such participation as well as its educational effectiveness. One of them is the existence of a sufficiently large number of people who are essentially not employed anywhere and are in the position of adult dependents or else who are listed somewhere nominally but subsist essentially on unearned income. We

know that not only good but bad examples are contagious, particularly for those who are not immunized against the bad and have not acquired adequate moral and political tempering and have been unable to learn from their own errors. In order for labor education at school to become truly effective, the need to work must be raised to the level of a general law without any exception, for if exceptions are allowed exclusiveness is legitimized. Furthermore, the attitude toward labor is, above all, a reaction to the situation in which such labor takes place. When an urban resident (young in particular) goes to help harvesting the crop for the first time, he imagines the following: the entire able-bodied population is in the fields or farms, performing their direct obligations. However, his hands are needed as well and he is ready to use them, to stand in the same line as those to whom harvesting the crops is both an obligation and a profession. However, what he sees is the following: Many kolkhoz members or sovkhoz workers are either on their way to the city or are "swaying" tipsily on the street. He then loses the sensation of the sacredness of his work. Similar consequences of participation in labor may occur if the work is poorly or even simply inefficiently organized or else involves the type of "style" of address which sickens a cultured person or, briefly, if the work atmosphere is not consistent with the expectations of those it should educate. Therefore, responsibility for such an atmosphere and for organizing the work of adolescents must be as great as that for the fulfillment of most important governmental assignments.

The work of adolescents, guided and organized by the school, is by far not the only means of involving them in labor activity or of including labor in the education process. One of the unquestionable merits of the CPSU Central Committee draft is that it is imbued with the idea of maximally voluntary participation and independent decision-making by the students in terms of participating in productive labor. Such voluntary participation is ensured by the fact that labor is considered not isolated but as part of a general system of education of the students, which will become maximally effective as a result of the reform, as well as a relatively broad range in choosing the type of work. However, another possibility exists of stimulating the labor obligations assumed by the adolescents to the extent of their forces: eliminating all obstacles on the path of temporary and even sporadic use of student labor (based on hourly wages) at enterprises and establishments which are still chronically short of manpower. Interest in such work is reciprocal, for enterprises and establishments must fulfill their plans, while the adolescent is still forced to ask his parents for money (needed perhaps to meet cultural requirements), or else to acquire such money through immoral or illegal means. The negative consequences of this situation in shaping the character and the personality have still not been properly assessed. All of this was mentioned in the report submitted by Comrade G. A. Aliyev at the 1979 All-Union Practical Science Conference in Baku. However, the organizations which should promote such a suggestion preferred to remain in their "old positions." A good action, an initiative demands efforts and, sometimes, a certain risk. Unfortunately, however, officials who neglect practical suggestions are not always taken to task.

No real training of young people for labor is conceivable without people to become accustomed literally from the very first years of their lives to the

strict observance of social norms and discipline. It is the family which sets the tone in developing discipline. Therefore, it is the family which is mostly to be blamed for a weak or absent discipline among those who the school is only continuing to educate. In noting the need for greater parental responsibility, the CPSU Central Committee draft "hits the nail on the head," as the saying goes. This responsibility begins literally with the conception of the child. The press has repeatedly written about the gravity of the problem of the prevention of mental retardation of children and of many as yet incurable diseases which are the result either of heredity or parental alcoholism. However, the family is no less responsible for the quality of education. Therefore, it would be logical if in cases of poor behavior on the part of the students the parents be summoned to answer not to the school but to the public organizations at their place of work. Clearly, the system of party and Komsomol training and the Marxism-Leninism universities should emphasize not a repetition of VUZ social science courses, as is sometimes the case, but sciences which directly determine the competence of the people in implementing party resolutions, including specific practical problems of education; the more so since the laws of dialectics could be mastered with the example not only of the growing grain but the growing human individual and his interaction-conflicting as a rule--with the social environment, and the culture, traditions and psychological atmosphere in the family.

Setting the tune, however, is not the entire song. A tolerant attitude toward violations of social norms and law and order and discipline is a sickness afflicting the school and the administrative organs, including the militia. We have good laws which forbid public drunkenness and abusive language in public, noise in premises, traffic violations, and so on. Sometimes, however, the idea develops that it would be better for such laws to be totally ignored, considering the great harm which impunity and habitual violations creates! In this case the children and adolescents go through a real "school" of lack of discipline and scorn for social rules.

The question of vocational training obviously requires a broader approach. The CPSU Central Committee draft on school reform justifiably speaks of motivating the students to make a deliberate choice of profession and acquire basic professional training. However, such motivation could hardly be created merely through the direct participation of the adolescents in productive labor. To a considerable extent vocational guidance is a choice of career which has two main aspects: material and spiritual-psychological. If the student is encouraged to train himself for a specific type of work for which the adolescent has the greatest inclination, on moral grounds the question of what wages should he earn is entirely justified. So far a differentiation based on position has predominated in distribution relations. It is precisely this problem which may become the stumbling block. Therefore, the more advanced the system of socialist distribution becomes the more it will take into consideration differences in labor contribution within the framework of the same profession and the more optimal will conditions become for vocational guidance and for the maximally efficient utilization of manpower.

As to the psychological aspect, an individual predilection for a specific type of activity, i.e., vocational guidance, frequently begins with an

attraction. The current school curriculum creates the impression that education considers the child's and the adolescent's leisure time the main enemy of education, for which reason so much homework is assigned that no time is left for conscientious work. As a result, those who want to be honest to the school are even deprived of the possibility of engaging in their particularly favorite activities, including reading, so-called development games, and so on. Those who do not consider such honesty mandatory thus acquire the right to relaxation at this price, the more so since they do not particularly care about their grades. What is this if not encouraging unconscientiousness for the sake of percentage mania? Is this not one of the reasons for the fact that usually those who are more interested rank among the "undersucceeding" students?

However, the students' load stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee draft calls for taking steps to make leisure time an actual period for the development of the individual. This includes the organization of amateur work clubs with proper materials and tools, good instructors and wide opportunities to manufacture (against payment) articles needed for the home and the school or for use in Komsomol and Pioneer work.

Proper vocational guidance given by the school is not only a guarantee for the successful participation of young people in labor but also a way to enhance the efficiency and profitability of higher education. A certain percentage of students will continue their education in the VUZs in accordance with national economic circumstances. The school has the function of training and selecting the young people who are most capable of mastering higher schools; this function can be performed best by introducing optional courses for the individual sciences and developing specialized training in the 9th to 11th grades.

The school reform is one of the most important and decisive parts in the course charted by the party for ensuring a general improvement in national economic activities, production intensification and advancement of our entire way of life. That is why in the course of the preparations for the reform we must take into consideration all available experience in this area, all lessons learned from the past and all noteworthy scientific recommendations in order to avoid both the loss of what should be retained and multiplied or the preservation of the customary yet no longer effective or even necessary features. The most important factor in the formulation and implementation of the reform is the total awareness that whereas for many decades we needed schools which provided training now, in the period of the scientific and technical revolution and developed socialism, the proper molding of a young generation and preparing it for life and work can be accomplished only by a school in which training becomes the most important structural component of education.

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VIEWS ON THE DRAFT EDUCATION REFORM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84) pp 58-66

[Article by D. El'konin, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The questions raised in the CPSU Central Committee draft cover the entire system of training and education work in contemporary schools. Whereas the folk wisdom calls for "measure seven times and cut only once" in this area we must measure not seven but 77 times! In order not to err, which would force us subsequently to redo things, we must above all look ahead, as is required by the draft: "The school must raise, train and educate the young generations taking maximally into consideration the social circumstances in which they will live and work."

Our society must make a qualitative jump in production forces. It must convert to intensive development and practically combine the advantages of developed socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. This demands of all participants in public production a higher educational standard and general culture. Consequently, it sets new problems to the entire training and educational system. Today we must not only improve the content, ways, methods and means of training but radically change school technology itself. I would like to emphasize that technology rather than equipment, giving to the former the broad meaning of internal organization of the curriculum to be mastered and the principles and means of structuring the process through which this material is mastered, whereas the latter is nothing more than the sum total of means and tools in a given area of activity.

Every year hundreds of new training aids and instruments for school laboratories, tables and improved textbooks are published within the educational system. All of this, however, takes place within the limits of the traditional technology of instilling in the students ready-made knowledge, which has been used for dozens of years. Although scientific workers and creative teachers or education collectives have introduced new developments, they either failed to become widespread or amounted to individual supplements or improvements of the existing technology without making any basic changes (such as problem training, the use of various technical facilities and so on). Whenever essentially new technologies were developed and submitted for practical use, as a rule they clashed with a militant conservatism and, lacking support, they soon became part of the traditional "production" methods. I have frequently come across such cases.

Therefore, the labor productivity of the students and, therefore, the teachers will have to be substantially increased. The achievements of the science of education and the experience of innovative educators open tremendous opportunities for improvements in education and save on time, the shortage of which is so greatly bemoaned in the schools. Increasing the educational influence of the school system on the development of the personality of the child and enhancing the role of labor training and combining training with productive labor will require additional time outlays which can be provided only by the new educational technology. Today everyone clearly realizes the aggravated conflict between the inevitably increasing complexity of training and school assignments and the time allocated for acquiring a secondary education--10 years. This contradiction can be eliminated only on the basis of radical improvements in the process of mastering knowledge by the students. No mechanical extensions of training time and no formal additions made at the base or at the top can resolve this problem.

Paradoxically, at a time when technology is a revolutionizing force in all production areas, it is proving to be the most conservative element in education. Such conservatism is strengthened and intensified by the standardization of training technology, which is manifested in the lack of possibility on the part of the teacher of selecting a training aid or method, the rigid regulation of the amount of time and procedure for covering the various parts of curriculums, the monopoly right to compiling new textbooks and school aids and so on and so forth. All of this paralyzes the creative initiative of practicing teachers.

The objective study of contemporary training technology in the narrow meaning of the term, i.e., the principles and means of structuring the training process would show that the mastery of knowledge is achieved as follows: a) the teacher imparts and explains knowledge of a specific segment of reality, while the student assimilates and tries, as he develops, to understand and remember it (it is assumed in this case that the student has the necessary ability to do so); b) the teacher submits a number of standard problems to which the acquired knowledge is to be applied; he sometimes gives an example of solutions while the student reproduces the example or tries independently to apply his knowledge in solving a relatively simple problem. I. Ya. Lerner, a leading Soviet educator, aptly described this technology as "information-receptive and reproduction methods." He assumes, however, that "both methods--the information-receptive and the reproductive--used in mastering ready-made knowledge and the ability of the young generation were and remain the most economical and expedient" (I. Ya. Lerner, "Didakticheskiye Osnovy Metodov Obucheniya" [Didactic Foundations of the Training Method]. Moscow, 1981, p 99). Therefore, the empirically developed system becomes consecrated and proclaimed historically permanent. It is true that these methods developed very long ago, as early as the time of Yan Amos Komenskiy. Lerner does not question the possibility of changing them but merely notes that they are universally adopted in the modern schools. All efforts to enhance the efficiency of the process have taken place within the framework of these methods. To begin with, they pertained to improving the means of presenting and receiving the information--various visual presentations, mnemonic systems, laboratory experiments and use of various technical facilities; secondly,

they included rationalizing the choice of problems used in the application of the information gained by the students.

We cannot engage here in a detailed methodological criticism of these principles. Let us merely point out that they are based on an association of the senses, which has long been eliminated in Soviet psychology.

Unfortunately, we must note that the current curriculums define essentially the volume of the material to be mastered, i.e., the sum total of knowledge which the student must be able to reproduce and apply to resolving a relatively small circle of standard problems at the end of his training in each subject and at graduation; the curriculums also indicate the general sequential order for covering the material without identifying the internal connection between the mastered concepts. This becomes particularly clear whenever the curriculums for the senior grades include the achievements of contemporary science (such as modern concepts on the structure of matter, data on contemporary molecular biology, etc.), whereas the content and sequence in mastering such knowledge in the middle and junior grades remain essentially unchanged. The result is that the students do not develop a system of scientific concepts or foundations for scientific thinking; what develops is a sum total of unrelated concepts on different levels, resembling a mosaic rather than an integral system.

This has also influenced the way in which eliminating the overloading of students has taken place in recent years. The overloading was eliminated with quantitative changes in the volume of knowledge (I have had the occasion to hear reports indicating the percentage of concepts which were deleted from the various subjects). The simple and long-established psychological fact that even the memorizing of interpreted concepts is significantly easier and more efficient than memorizing a number of individual words taken out of context from such concepts was totally ignored. (This particularly applies to younger students and adolescents who are as yet unable independently to identify the meaningful internal connections among individual concepts which must be established by the teacher together with the students.) Naturally, a diminution in the volume of the curriculum should take place. However, this is neither the only nor the most efficient means of eliminating overloading and improving the quality with which the material is mastered.

Therefore, we must conclude that not only the development of the child (the number of years spent in learning, the starting age group and so on) but the training technology itself are perceived as purely quantitative. The technology of education is structured, on the one hand, as an information process (measurable quantitatively) and, on the other, as a receptive-reproduction process in terms of its psychological mechanism, i.e., a process which leads to perception and memorizing rather than shaping scientific summations (concepts) and their system.

This should not be interpreted as a criticism of our school. The Soviet school was the first in the world to provide a uniform general mandatory secondary education, polytechnical training and labor education for all children. It has successfully resolved the problems which have faced it

during the various periods of building socialism. Its accomplishments are universally known. It rapidly went through a period of extensive development. However, a new era has come, an era which has formulated new requirements, an era of intensive development affecting the schools as well. This means that we must expose the internal contradictions which appeared and accumulated in our educational training system in order to find a way to resolve them. No progress is possible without such an analysis.

Is there a real alternative to the technology, taken in the broad meaning of the term, which has developed in our educational system? The question can be answered in the affirmative. Yes, science has the theoretical foundations for a new technology. Furthermore, practical experience exists in its experimental implementation and in experimental practical testing. We owe this above all to the works of L. S. Vygotskiy, this outstanding Soviet psychologist, which deal with the nature of higher (historically higher) and specific human mental processes. He included the shaping of scientific concepts among them. It was he who formulated the hypothesis to the effect that the developing effect of training is determined by the mastery of a related system of concepts which reflect the nature (i.e., the basic law) of natural phenomena and social reality and that such mastery or, more accurately, the appearance, the shaping in the mind of the student of a scientific concept, is a process which took place through a number of stages and is accomplished in cooperation with an adult (the teacher) who is the bearer of the shaped concepts and their system.

In his study of the way summations are shaped, A. N. Leont'yev, L. S. Vygotskiy's closest associate, proved that this process is most closely based on and determined by the real practical work of the child with the object. This led to the conclusion that the shaping of individual concepts is based on mastering features of reality which are not part of a direct perception but can be identified only as a result of specific actions and practical and real changes in the studied object and summed up. This viewpoint conflicted with the traditional concept of the information-receptive nature of mastering knowledge: it was based not on ready-made information concerning directly perceived features or characteristics of the object and the use of such knowledge in resolving practical problems but, conversely, on resolving practical problems based on changes in the object, identifying its hidden features, their summation and the summation of knowledge (concept) of the object.

It was on this theoretical basis that during the 1959-1960 school year the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of General and Pedagogical Psychology organized an experiment in Moscow School No 91. The experiment proved to be quite productive and was gradually expanded and tested in different circumstances (the school in Mednoye village, Kalinin Oblast). At the beginning of the 1960s, following a thorough study of the results of the work, the school was placed under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of General and Pedagogical Psychology as an experimental facility.

However, as I already pointed out, any effort to develop a new technology is opposed by the supporters of the traditional system. The history of the

experimental school in Kharkov, as described in the newspaper IZVESTIYA (11 October 1983, "Experience in Wasting An Experience") is an example. Something similar took place at Moscow Experimental School No 91.

The most interesting feature is motivation which is the basis of the struggle against the formulation of new technologies. Unable to question the essential scientific concepts on which the new technology is being proved experimentally, the critics reject it under the pretext of the impossibility of applying it immediately on a broad basis. However, in order to reach the level of the possibility of applying the new technology comprehensively and making it available to all teachers it should be tested. But even the development of the new technology itself is considered an unjustified outlay.

In my view, the CPSU Central Committee draft should include the following in its third section: "Favorable conditions must be created for the development, testing and objective assessment of new and more effective technologies (i.e., methods, means) applicable to the training and educational process. Public (party, scientific) supervision of innovative suggestions should be strengthened."

The terminology used in the draft educational structure is noteworthy: "primary school," "incomplete secondary school" and "secondary general educational and vocational school." To me this sounds like an echo of the reforms through which historically the unified system of universal mandatory secondary education was accomplished in our country. The primary school existed before the universal mandatory incomplete secondary education had been achieved, while the incomplete secondary school existed before universal secondary education had been reached. It would be easy to change the terminology and to describe these educational levels as primary, secondary and senior grade schools.

As we look deeper into the formulation of the tasks facing each of these "schools," we begin to understand the content of this terminology. Thus, the essential activities of the primary school are formulated as follows: "In the primary school (first-fourth grades) the duration of the training will be increased by 1 year. This will make it possible to ensure a more thorough instruction of the children in reading, writing and arithmetic and basic labor skills; at the same time, it will reduce the load carried by the students and will facilitate the subsequent mastery of the foundations of science." This means that mastering the foundations of science here is not even attempted, but merely preparations are being made to this effect in a rather peculiar manner as well, by developing the practical skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, totally unrelated to studies of the corresponding areas of life. The mastery of scientific concepts appears to be beyond the limits of the "primary school." If such is the case, how could it facilitate the subsequent mastery of the foundations of science?

I recall that toward the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s a 3-year primary education was introduced. Already then some scientists had issued warnings. Thus, L. V. Zankov, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences full member, and the author of these lines, had stated that a conversion to 3-year

primary education had not been suitably prepared, that its surface indicators had to be considered critically and that a radical restructuring of the technology of primary education itself was needed if it was to be successful. This cautioning was ignored. Now, 15 years later, we are returning to our starting point and raising the question of returning to a 4-year primary education, the only change being that an additional year is tagged onto the bottom, at the preschool level. Let us note that this suggestion comes precisely from method workers who, in their time, favored a conversion to a 3-year primary education!

I consider questionable the very formulation of the question of the need for a special stage during which the strictly practical skills of reading, writing and basic arithmetic are to be mastered, for practical skills become stronger the more profoundly and extensively the developing individual is oriented toward the areas of reality to which the problems resolved through such skills apply. Neglect of basic pedagogical principles, a utilitarian approach to school tasks, the formalizing of education and converting it into a system of endless exercises based on examples given in the textbook and the corresponding lesson taught by the teacher are the true reason for the currently unsatisfactory condition of primary education which leads to the need to extend the duration of primary education.

The earlier start of school training, affecting 6-year-old children, is a particular problem. It is planned to achieve it gradually, over a number of years, starting with 1986, as additional space is created for the students and teaching cadres are trained, and in accordance with the wishes of the parents, the level of development of the children and local conditions. The question seems to be already resolved and it is merely a matter of time and of gradual implementation. However, I know of many specialists in the field of preschool education who objected to such shortening of the preschool development period. I shall consider the suggested variant.

It is unquestionable that early age contains tremendous potential opportunities for overall mental development, currently used entirely inadequately. As early as the 1920s, the noted Soviet scientist N. M. Shchelovanov and his associates proved that education must begin as early as possible and that shortchanging it would lead to extremely undesirable consequences in the mental and physical development of the children.

The exceptionally sensitive response of very small children to educational influences originated by adults developed historically in the course of the anthropogenesis which paralleled the appearance of a form of ontogenetic development which was qualitatively new compared even to the higher primates. The essence of this historical process was the withering away of innate and inherited instinctive forms of behavior and the functional systems of the brain on which they were based. As a result of this disappearance, the newborn child became an entirely helpless being which could survive only as a result of the closest possible, directly effective and emotional tie with the adults caring for it. This tie was not an innate mechanism, as is the case with some animal species, but had to be restructured by the adults.

The development of the mind and its functions--the entire mental development--takes place in the course of the elaboration of such increasingly complexities between the adult and the child. Therefore, the moment it is born the child is a social being in terms of its nature and its mental development is of social origin.

In the course of the disappearance of the functional brain systems on which the hereditarily established and instinctive forms of behavior were based, the higher parts of the nervous system were released from such rigid systems and the respective parts of the nervous system became more plastic. Therefore, the helplessness of the baby and the plasticity of the nervous system are two sides of the same process of historical development of childhood in humans. Helplessness and plasticity are nature's foundation which ensures the tremendous educational possibilities existing in the early periods of mental development.

Although they do not provide the full picture, data acquired by Soviet psychology as a result of the efforts of a number of scientists (N. M. Aksarin, N. M. Shchelovanov, A. M. Fonarev, S. L. Novoselova, M. I. Lisina and others) are quite adequate for developing an optimal system for the education of children of this age group.

The task of extending the public education system to all children within the early age group (ages 1 to 3) is one to be undertaken in the relatively distant future. The family alone, even if the parents have high cultural standards and educational training, cannot give the child what it can receive from a well-planned organized system of social upbringing within a small group of children, where a comprehensive system of relations may be developed between adults and children, on the one hand, and within the children's group, on the other.

The need for a broader development of the public education of younger children is already being felt. This need is particularly great in rural areas. The basic shortcoming of the existing institutions for smaller children is the small contact between adults and children. It is inevitable in the case of a single educator of a large group of children (20-30). Reducing the number of children within the group would require tremendous additional funds. However, major internal resources remain. Let us name one of them: recruiting for work in such institutions girls attending senior grades as a form of their participation in adult productive labor. Public education, like work in industry, is a responsible and socially necessary labor. This would have a major educational impact on students who will be future mothers. Under the guidance of the main educator, the students could master quite quickly the skills of educational work with children in this age group. (This is one argument in favor of organizing "nursery-kindergarten" combines within a single complex with the school.) The school could sponsor such combines and working in them would be considered the socially useful labor of students.

The stage of the education of children aged 3 to 7 is directly related to the beginning of school training. It begins with a transitional period initially

characterized by a trend toward independent activities and the separation of the child from the adults. The beginning of this period can also be considered the beginning of the molding of the child's personality. That is precisely why the entire preschool period is particularly important. It is during this period that the intensive orientation of the child in social relations among people, the labor functions of people and the social reasons and tasks involved in their activities take place. On this basis, toward the end of this period the child develops the tendency of engaging in serious, socially significant and accessible activity. It is precisely this that is of crucial importance in terms of the child's readiness for school education; it is the social maturity rather than technical skills (reading, counting) which creates this readiness. The preschool period is a period of appearance and blossoming of games, role-playing games in particular (ages 5-7). It is precisely in the course of the role game, thanks to the conventional nature of the activities and the symbolic nature of the objects involved, that the main content of the child's activities becomes a model of social relations among people and orientation within them and within the social meaning of adult labor. In the course of the game the child learns what it means to be an adult and that it is not an adult yet. Thanks to this particular game technique, it is precisely here that the indirect symptoms of arbitrary forms of behavior appear. The influence of games is quite comprehensive and it is impossible to overestimate their importance for development.

Toward the end of the preschool age, a variety of games develop on the basis of the role game with certain rules; their mastery is of great importance in preparing the child for school training which is full of various rules. In the course of the game the child becomes an individual (let us note that it was precisely Soviet psychologists who developed the sociohistorical theory of children's games).

Let us note, unfortunately, that games have not assumed a role consistent with their importance in the practice of preschool education. Children in kindergartens play little. Naturally, the life of the child in kindergarten hardly consists entirely of games. During that age period productive types of activity are intensively developed: drawing, gluing, building and so on, in the course of which the child proceeds from an idea to its material realization. It is on this basis that socially developed standards are mastered (chromatic coloring, audio frequency relations, phonetic contrapositions, geometric forms, etc.) and a generalized perception and broad orientation in material surroundings develop.

In the course of familiarization with surrounding objects, even under the conditions of a spontaneously developing education within the family, during that age period the initial outline of an outlook appears: the differentiation between natural and social phenomena, animate and inanimate nature, and fauna and flora; the first general concepts, which are the basis for the subsequent development of scientific concepts in the school, appear.

Finally, during the preschool age the children intensively master ethical norms. This is based on the actual relations which develop within the children's group in the course of the organization of a joint life under the guidance of adults.

Educational practice underestimates the significance of aesthetic education in terms of moral development, particularly in children's and folk stories and literature in all possible genres. The perception of works of art at a given age is characterized by a direct emotional reaction and contribution, and it is precisely on this basis that the ethical norms and evaluations are developed and intensified (good-bad; good-evil; friendship-enmity; daring-cowardly; and so on). Naturally, intellectual and speech developments rapidly advance as well. Let us particularly emphasize that the development of all of these aspects in their unity up to a certain level and with the leading importance of the motivation-will and social areas is the content of psychological preparedness for school training. In my view, the following should be added to the reform document: "A broad overall development is the task of the preschool institutions in terms of training the children for school and the beginning of school education."

Our country has the only system in the world for preschool education. Psychologists L. S. Vygotskiy, A. N. Leont'yev, A. V. Zaporozhets, L. A. Zenger, N. N. Pod'yakov, M. I. Lisina and others made a great contribution to its development. The system has entirely proved its usefulness. Children raised in kindergartens are ahead of their coevals who do not attend preschool institutions in all development indicators, as confirmed by special studies.

This unique system of social upbringing of the children during the most important period of their individual development is a most important achievement of socialism. The following statement in the draft entirely applies to it: "This is a major contribution to the treasury of global experience in socialist change and an inspiring example to countries which are taking the path of building a new life. It convincingly proves the historical advantages of socialism over capitalism."

No capitalist country in the world has or could have such a system which embodies the great humanistic idea of socialism: offering all children at the earliest possible age optimal conditions for the development of all capabilities. The importance of the early period of child development is difficult to overestimate. This is realized and greatly valued by the parents who try to place their children in kindergartens. Even in cities and settlements in which most of the children attend preschool institutions, the need for them has not been entirely met and waiting lines appear.

I had the occasion to meet with Gianni Rodari, an Italian communist and noted writer for children, who came to the USSR especially to study our preschool education system. He told me that we do not know how to propagandize the advantages of socialism and that our preschool education system is one of the outstanding arguments in its favor.

Obviously, the strategy to be pursued in this area is, while preserving the existing preschool education system, to work on its further development and advancement and in no case shorten preschool childhood. I greatly doubt the advisability of putting 6-year-old children in classrooms. It would be by far more expedient to broaden the network of kindergartens so that they may

be extended to all preschoolers gradually, as material and cadre possibilities allow, from top to bottom, rather than opening preparatory school grades, beginning with children aged 6 or 7, lowering the age to 5-6, and so on (this may be economically advantageous as well, for broadening the network of preschool institutions, partially at least, could be subsidized by industrial enterprises, sovkhozes, kolkhozes and public organizations, using funds allocated for sociocultural construction. This requires a special study).

This would enable us to introduce in kindergarten curriculums reading and quantitative relations starting with the age of 5, without violating the principles of the work and system of relations with society (with the adults) characteristic of this period of development (experimental studies and observations related to speech development indicate that 5-year-old children are particularly sensitive to and interested in the sound aspect of language).

In my view, such a strategy would be the most efficient and sensible from all viewpoints: first, it would create optimal conditions for the all-round development of preschool-age children and for the manifestation and realization of the tremendous potential of this space group; secondly, the school would receive children with a more equal development and a considerably greater preparedness in terms of their level of general, including intellectual, development as well as their technical reading and arithmetic skills.

Many school educators follow a one-sided approach to the preschool period of development. All successes achieved in preschool upbringing are considered exclusively through the lens of preparing the children for the school, within a very narrow range at that (ability to read, write and count). In general, the approach to a specific period of development in childhood should not be considered from a narrow pragmatic viewpoint as a preparation for the subsequent development stage. Precisely the opposite should be practiced. The very transition to the subsequent higher stage of development is prepared and determined by the extent to which the preceding period has been fully covered and the extent to which the internal contradictions which can be resolved through this transition have matured. If the transition takes place before the maturing of such contradictions, if it is artificially accelerated ignoring objective factors, the molding of the personality of the child would suffer substantially and the harm caused may be irreparable.

Any transition from one stage in the development of the child to another is, above all, a transition to a new, a qualitatively higher and more profound tie between the child and society of which it is a part and without which it cannot live. The limits of the preschool period have been established by the science of education quite clearly: from the ages of 3 to 7. The final year (6-7) is particularly important and must be lived by the child within the system of the real relations with society which are typical and necessary precisely during this development stage. Shortening preschool childhood by 1 year would destroy the existing process of development of the child and would bring no benefits.

Therefore, the question of beginning to train the child in reading, writing and arithmetic should not be considered the main problem. Unquestionably,

children can and must begin to learn to read, write and count even before the age of 6. The question is where to do this: within the system of relations of the child characteristic of the preschool age or within the system of purely school relations for which the child has not matured yet. In my view, only one answer is possible: within the system of universal preschool education. Wherever the existing preschool education system is insufficiently developed its development should be accelerated. This is possible also at the school--not within but at the school, and in no case should the forms of relations and methods of training characteristic of the school be applied to the growth of preschool institutions to be established in the future.

It is good for the older children in the preschool period to be aware of the fact that they are not yet students. This would assist their social maturing. Any unprejudiced observer who would visit a first grade consisting of 6-year-old children and a kindergarten group consisting of children of the same age would clearly see that the children feel better in the kindergarten. They have a fuller and more varied life and seem significantly more cheerful and healthy than their coevals in school. Let me also point out that physicians and physiologists almost unanimously call for the use of a special regimen for first grades attended by 6-year-old children, structuring them as more similar to the regimen of a strictly preschool institution.

Specialists in primary education and training must pay considerably greater attention to the characteristics of the preschool-age group. Many errors could be made in this area by ignoring or being unfamiliar with its specifics.

I would like to discuss another problem which I consider central and very complex: combining training with productive labor. The draft pays great attention to this. We read in its fourth section that "combining education with productive labor presumes the involvement of the students, starting with the junior grades, in systematic and organized socially useful labor, consistent with their health and age group--a real type of labor needed by society." The draft justifiably emphasizes the importance of labor training, promoting the children's respect for labor, mastery of labor skills and motivations for a conscious choice of profession by the children and so on. The main feature in labor education is to combine training with productive toil. This precisely is the main prerequisite for and source of the normal all-round development of the individual. However, productive labor assumes this importance only if it is in the form of including the children in the work of adults, thus becoming a meaningful form of a direct tie between the child and society. I emphasize that the child, the adolescent, is part of society. He wants to share the life of society. Otherwise, his life becomes maimed and restricted and his development inevitably becomes one-sided.

Combining education with labor means including the children in productive labor performed together with the adults. What matters here is precisely the direct coparticipation in the work of the adult. In this case the child becomes part of the overall production force jointly generated by children and adults. Here again what matters is less what the child does than the fact that he does it together with the adults. It is at this point that the child becomes aware of his organic ties with society; in this case the common labor process and object marks the relations between the child and the adult; the actions of the child are oriented toward those of the adult while the

actions of the adult are oriented toward the actions of the child: the actions of the child and the adult are a single action, a single process of producing an object or part of an object, as well as an educational process.

Suffice it to see the way children transplant cabbages in the school garden under the supervision of the teacher and to compare this process with the way children transplant cabbages together with adults to realize that these are two totally different processes. The latter has a significantly greater educational influence than the former.

Our school is tied to society and, like any other type of production, obtains its end product as a result of school training and specific control consisting of graduation examinations. To the children this is a remote outcome. They seek and demand daily contacts with society. The child, the adolescent cannot live a life enclosed within the limits of the school. This means not to live for 10 years but merely prepare oneself for future life! It is impossible to remain nothing but a student for 10 years.

Both parents and teachers consider the time which the children spend in school as part of their life. To the children themselves this may be life but not a complete life. The youngsters and the adolescents seek outlets in the life of adults and if such outlets are blocked they find accidental means which to a certain extent duplicate and replace adult life by creating groups and a variety of associations for most different purposes. Such groups become uncontrolled and frequently turn into an environment which generates educational difficulties. We are well familiar with the experience of educational work with this category of children and adolescents. It proves that their involvement in productive labor is a decisive feature.

It is important to note that if involvement in production labor is such a powerful means of reeducation, it could become an even more powerful means of preventing children and adolescents from dropping out of society; furthermore, the timely involvement of children in adult life and productive labor becomes a source of development of the young generation as a part of society as well as a powerful means of eliminating the alienation of the children from their main, strictly, school, work.

Usually it is the family and relations within it that are blamed for difficulties in school training. This is only partially accurate. Also blamed is the school for failure to pay prompt attention to difficulties which arise and for its failure to apply a suitable individual approach. What is frequently ignored is the simple fact that difficulties in education are frequently merely the external manifestation of internal difficulties experienced by the children themselves. We already pointed out the main source of such difficulties: the closed nature of the school and the absence of a daily link between the school and the students with the life of society, with the life (the work above all) of adults or with occupations similar to adult life.

Under the influence of their comrades and sometimes their parents, many children find by themselves a solution to their exclusion from society with the help of all kinds of so-called extracurricular activities, such as radio, photography and motion picture hobbies and airplane, yacht and ship modeling.

Some go into athletics, technology or aesthetic activities. Some are able to attend the rayon Pioneer Club, clubs for young technicians, sports clubs or plant clubs. If an adolescent likes radio engineering, he learns how to do a specific kind of work or to build and design something. Such activities are those of adults and cooperation with older people develops both directly and indirectly, through reference manuals, technical journals and so on; if a child or an adolescent is a member of a chorus or performs on the stage, he too is engaged in performing a function usually performed by adults. As a rule, children engaged in such activities do not present educational problems. To the contrary, their reeducation frequently is achieved by including them in such projects. It is true that this largely occurs spontaneously.

Is the present-day school, with its available material and cadre resources, able to satisfy such needs for all children? Alas, no. Usually, the school is the last to find out about the extracurricular attractions of its pupils, although they represent the life of the children.

We know that extracurricular institutions (Pioneer clubs, sports clubs, various circles for children at plant clubs, etc.) are frequented by an insignificant percentage of schoolchildren, which is very bad, for the realm of expedient active life becomes unjustifiably small. In the preschool institution, however, the child lives a full, varied and comprehensive life. He sings, dances, draws, glues, plays, builds and works (takes care of plants and of itself), listens to stories, learns about the world around him and acts independently and in cooperation with adults and coevals. Every single day of the child is filled with such variety. Everything changes when the child enters school. Its life becomes quite monotonous. Everything is filled with work in class and at home. For the first year or two the child is still comfortable with this new status and the new socially significant and accessible activity. Subsequently, however, once this status has been mastered, it is no longer satisfactory and the child begins to seek outlets beyond it in establishing new relations with society.

A major internal conflict exists in the course of the entire mental development of the child. On the one hand, it involves a process of increased autonomy and, on the other, the trend toward common life and joint activities with adults intensifies. From a very early age the child tries to be independent. The adults ask of the child to become increasingly independent: to walk, eat, dress, entertain and prepare his lessons, think for himself, and so on. On the other hand, however, every step in developing the autonomy of the child and the adolescent faces them with new areas of activity unmastered as yet and realms of social life (of the adults). The child tries to extend his independence to these new areas of life and to penetrate them. However, in terms of its origin and nature any such independent action is an action performed together with adults. New areas of life cannot be mastered other than on the basis of joint activities with adults, which intensifies the desire of the children to establish new broader and deeper ties with adults, with society.

A general objective law exists according to which any step in the emancipation from adults is also a step toward a stronger link with adult life. Unless the children fail to find this link (which they are unable to find and establish independently) and unless they are not helped by the adults a

transition occurs from an internal contradiction to an external contradiction between the child and the adult. The main task of the educational system is precisely systematically to help and to organize the resolution of the conflict without allowing uncontrolled developments and to find possibilities and conditions for establishing an increasingly close tie between the child and society.

Including the child from the earliest possible age in the various forms of adult productive labor is the most adequate and optimal solution of this problem. Such involvement must cover a number of steps. This, however, is a separate topic for discussion. The optimal organizational method for combining training with productive labor is the one in which production becomes an organic part of the school; this does not mean a school attached to an industrial enterprise or a production facility attached as an appendix to the school but production as part of the school, as part of the life of the student--production in school.

This method for involving students in productive labor alongside adults does not eliminate the need for work classes at school workshops; such classes should be coordinated with the content of productive labor.

Involving the children in productive toil together with adults should be the first and basic stage of education in general, of forming the social nature of the small person. It is only on this basis that all other forms of productive labor become easier to develop (individual activities without the participation of adults but related to society through the product rather than the process).

The molding of a professional development and the acquisition of a great variety of skills should be based on awareness already prepared by society in terms of origin and content and individual in terms of form. It is precisely this type of organization of productive labor by children which could take the school outside the limitations within which it operates and relate it to society not only through its end product but on a daily and necessary basis. The productive labor of children and adolescents within the school, however socially useful it may be, cannot guarantee the molding of the type of person we need.

Combining training with productive toil is an extremely difficult problem the solution of which will require the solution of many essential and organizational problems. Nevertheless, it is necessary to undertake it.

The reform in education is not a temporal process and cannot be conducted as a campaign, although such a tendency will develop. Clearly, it must take place consistently and systematically. That is why we should perhaps think of the way this is accomplished in the area of the reorganization of production management. We must undertake a number of basic studies and special experimentations which would enable us accurately to resolve the problems formulated in the draft.

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AESTHETIC ATTITUDE TO REALITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84) pp 67-78

[Article by A. Melik-Pashayev, candidate of psychological sciences]

[Text] The Soviet school is entering a new period of development in which the most profound problems of the education and molding of the personality of the new man, the entire system of his relations with reality and life values, that which we describe as the spiritual world, assume a leading significance. It is natural, therefore, that significant improvements in the artistic education and aesthetic upbringing of the students are listed as a most important task in the CPSU Central Committee draft "Fundamental Trends in the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational School" (see item 15).

By itself this problem is hardly new. Soviet pedagogy has always considered its solution an inseparable part of communist upbringing. Nor was it accidental that the programmatic document passed at the 26th Party Congress called for "developing socialist culture and art, enhancing their role in shaping a Marxist-Leninist outlook and ensuring the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the various needs of the Soviet people." Today, however, we need to do purposeful work to raise overall aesthetic education to a higher level. Naturally, this calls for a discussion of a number of fundamental problems.

What does aesthetic education mean? On what grounds is it assigned a great ideological and moral significance in relation to communist education? Why is it needed by everyone instead of just those who choose art as their profession? The more specific questions which exist in this area of education and training cannot be answered or suitable suggestions formulated without understanding all this.

Whenever upbringing is discussed we always assume a certain ideal, a desired objective to which we aspire and with which we correlate our choice of ways and means of pedagogical influence. In this case it would be proper to turn to the basic theoretical concepts which should be our support in daily pedagogical practice as well.

The objective of a communist upbringing and, in the final account, the objective of social development is the person who has discovered the full extent of his "essential forces," the creation of a universal harmonious

individual. The communist society presumes the free development of each (to Marx the concepts of freedom and universality were equivalent) which, in turn, become a prerequisite for the free development of all (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 447). Therefore, in our further mention of upbringing we shall be referring not to any kind of pedagogical influence which may be of use in one area or another but of one the end objective of which is the development of the pupil as a universal individual.

Let us note the dialectical nature of the problem of education, which was also noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, namely that resolving it is both a most important objective and a mandatory prerequisite for building communism. The new person cannot automatically "appear" as a result of social changes. His development is merely a prerequisite for the success of such changes.

Without a profound restructuring of self-awareness and the value orientations of the person, which affect not only outstanding individuals but the huge popular masses, the effectiveness of radical social changes would be limited and society would be obliged to continue steadily to concern itself with neutralizing various symptoms of human spiritual injuries in terms of attitudes toward labor, nature, interrelationships, behavior at home and so on. All of these problems, however, albeit burning and urgent, remain "peripheral" in origin and cannot be resolved by themselves outside of and prior to the solution of the main problem of educating the individual.

When we speak of the ideal universal individual as the target of communist education, we have in mind his special attitude toward the universe (i.e., the world with everything in it): His inner organic involvement with it. Such a person does not feel himself locked within his "I" which is opposed by the "non-I" of the outside world (natural and social). To the contrary, in terms of himself he is also a self-aware part of nature (a natural being existing for his own sake (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, p 164)) and the existing living species (see *ibid.*, p 92).

In the course of developing such an awareness man will surmount the alienation to life and, therefore, the alienation of his real nature and will be able to consider himself "a universal and, therefore, a free being" (*ibid.*). "Freedom," Hegel wrote, "exists only wherever there is for me nothing which does not exist within me" (Hegel, "Entsiklopediya Filosofskikh Nauk [Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences]. Vol 1. "Science of Logic," Moscow, 1975, p 124).

Together with this the individual inevitably gains an organic feeling of personal responsibility for everything and the ability to think, assess and act from the viewpoint of the interests of humankind. The development of the personality precisely along this line creates people who can assume a progressive stance in any type of specific historical situation and oppose political forces, social groups or ideological systems which serve the consolidation of any possible form of inequality, exploitation and antagonism, i.e., which are objectively set against the interests of humankind at large.

In the course of such a conscious aspiration to such an ideal the person outlives many psychological features inherited from the past, including

one-sidedness and incompleteness in the development of capabilities and a utilitarian-consumerist attitude toward nature and cultural phenomena, which always threaten to spread to human interrelationships. The salvation from this difficult although historically determined legacy requires a purposeful communist education and self-education or, in other words, influencing someone (or oneself) and thus contributing to the appearance of a universal individual. The individual types of education into which this process is customarily broked down -- ideological, moral, labor, etc. -- should be taken not as parts of a set (which would imply a mechanical "model" of the human individual) and not as autonomous "departments" of the person's spiritual world but as facets of a single entity, which cannot exist separately from each other. It is obvious, for example, that ideological upbringing cannot be provided separately from moral upbringing, that patriotic education would be a fiction without labor education and so on.

The ideal of the individual must be fully represented within each one of these facets. In the final account, each type of education encompasses the full complement of educational tasks and the moral responsibility for the person but it implements them with its own specific means. This equally applies to aesthetic education which deals with all basic characteristically refracted problems of the development of an integral and universal personality.

On the one hand, the concept of aesthetic education is firmly linked in our minds to art. On the other, it presumes something broader, not special but universal in its significance. There is no contradiction here. Something far more general, deeper and primary exists behind any type of artistic creativity, behind any outstanding manifestation of the special talent of the painter, musician, architect, poet, actor or sculptor: The special attitude of the person toward life, not toward art, its values, its creation or its perception, but toward reality around us, a reality which has not as yet been transformed through artistic creativity.

Let me emphasize that we are not discussing the ideological and artistic content of individual works or entire trends in the arts but the attitude of the person toward reality which provides the possibility itself for its artistic interpretation. Sometimes it may not be manifested in particular artistic activities. Nevertheless, it represents the spiritual richness of the one who has it. This special attitude (let us name it an aesthetic attitude) is potentially present in all people. It is true that under the conditions of the social division of labor it develops and materializes mainly in the area of professional art. However, this precisely constitutes the universal importance of the artist's work: A creativity which can awaken similar "essential forces" in others as well; their assimilation of art may be expressed as the "dematerialization" and "acquisition" of the human ability to have an aesthetic attitude toward life.

As M. Prishvin wrote, "The ability of the artist to see the world means the infinite broadening of the normal ability of all people of kindred perception (the writer's definition of a quality quite similar to what we describe as "aesthetic attitude" -- the author). The boundaries of this kindred perception become infinitely wider through art, which is the ability of particularly gifted individuals and artists to see the world face to face" (M. Prishvin,

"Zapisi o Tvorchestve" [Notes on Creativity]. "Context 1974. Literary-Theoretical Studies." Moscow, 1975, p 352).

The main objective of a universal aesthetic education is to develop the ability for an aesthetic attitude toward reality in all people, regardless of their profession and not as an aspect of particular giftedness but as an integral characteristic of the harmoniously developed individual, as a facet of a truly human attitude toward the world and oneself.

What is the psychological content of such an attitude? What is its spiritual and moral value which enables us to consider it the target of a universal aesthetic education? These questions cannot be answered with a purely rational analysis, for the subject of the study is inordinately unusual. A proper understanding of its nature requires personal experience similar to the one we try to gain. Let us, therefore, turn to statements of people who have fully acquired such experience: The outstanding masters of the arts, who try to identify the conditions for the birth of artistic ideas and to reach the prime sources of their own creativity.

In our study of the theoretical legacy of artists of different epochs and nationalities, who worked in the various fields of the arts, we find the constant of an aesthetic attitude to life, a constant and universal feature in historically varying and individual forms of artistic creativity, which seems to constitute the very area of the aesthetic mastery of the world by man.

The first feature which is invariably present in an aesthetic attitude is the direct feeling of unity between the subject and surrounding reality. The external world does not oppose him in a state of alienated objectivity but presents itself as the world of man, close to and understood by him. True creativity turns out to be possible only if this condition is met.

Many of the greatest poets, painters and musicians of different times and nations express the same idea in almost coinciding terms: If I and my subject or the outside world as a whole exist separately no art can result. That is why the development of a feeling of nonalienation toward reality is considered the main prerequisite for the person's aesthetic development.

However, a changed attitude toward the outside world always means a new attitude toward oneself and a new level of self-awareness. By outgrowing the feeling of alienation toward his surroundings and the external restrictive "non-I," man discovers that previously he had not known his own self. He is able to surmount his self-alienation, regains his integrity and acquires his true universal human nature: "Everything within me and I within everything" (Tyutchev). This is the tremendous significance of an aesthetic attitude in the development of the individual, regardless of whether or not it is manifested in artistic creativity.

We find an interesting confirmation of this fact in M. Gorkiy. He describes a profound and realized feeling of oneness with nature and "with everything living around me" experienced during his childhood, at a time when, naturally, this feeling could not find an outlet in the creation of a work of art. But it was precisely then, as he felt himself to be an inseparable particle of

the life of nature and mankind that the future writer gained confidence in his forces, a confidence which was not destroyed by years of most severe life trials which occurred soon afterwards (see M. Gorkiy, "Sobr. Soch." [Collected Works] in 18 volumes. Vol 9. Moscow, 1962, p 142).

A nonalienated attitude toward the world at large has a variety of facets manifested as a particular attitude toward other people, nature, cultural values and historical past.

In all cases the subject of an aesthetic attitude is manifested, on the one hand, as natural to the person, ready to identify itself, as "one's own." On the other, it appears as having an independent and unique existence with a worth of its own (an aesthetic attitude is not utilitarian and can even be antiutilitarian).

Thus, the aesthetically developed person perceives another person not "partially" (as, for instance, the performer of some useful function) and not with prejudice (from the viewpoint of his own inclinations and prejudices), but above all as an integral subject similar and equal to himself, and both distinct from and close to him, precisely as "another I." This creates deep compassion and understanding (not necessarily agreement!). The individuality of each side is retained but the ability is created to put oneself in the place of the other and to feel the other's pain as one's own. It helps to develop the other's dominant, which the outstanding Russian scientist A. A. Ukhtomskiy considered a necessary prerequisite for true human communication (see A. A. Ukhtomskiy. "Pis'ma" [Letters]. "Paths into the Unknown. Writers Speak of Science." Collection, vol 10. Moscow, 1973, p 384).

Let us cite one of the many examples: "In listening to these people I became part of their life. I felt their rags on my back, I walked in their torn shoes. Their wishes and their needs -- everything went into my soul or, more accurately, my soul entered theirs" (H. Balzac, "Sobr. Soch." [Collected Works]. In 15 volumes. Vol 7, Moscow, 1953, p 341).

Need we prove that the ability to react to someone else in this fashion is necessary not only for depicting him in art? For it also defines the creative nature of human relations and a superior standard of communication. It creates the emotional atmosphere of all daily life. This ability may be brought to life in everyone as a result of a full aesthetic education, i.e., of developing an aesthetic attitude toward the world.

This kind of attitude toward nature, for example, is related to surmounting an alienated and utilitarian approach to it (only as an object of rational study, use, etc.). By discovering in it a certain familiar content man also discovers the "natural" within himself. Aesthetically experienced, nature becomes "humanized." It acquires an anthropomorphic meaning in the creative awareness and the concept of man is broadened to the scale of nature. The metaphorical language always used by poets when speaking of nature is not a "poetic fiction" or a conventional means of expression which corresponds to nothing in real life but a necessary means of objectivizing their really experienced involvement with nature and a means of expressing themselves as the "reflection of nature."

Everyone, not only a poet or a landscape painter, must feel himself a natural being although having gone beyond nature. As S. L. Rubinsteyn, the noted Soviet psychologist wrote, "a person alienated from nature, from the life of the universe, from the play of its elemental forces, unable to relate to them...is a small person" (S. L. Rubinshteyn. "Problemy Obshchey Psikhologii" [Problems of General Psychology]. Moscow, 1976, p 374).

There is yet another vitally important aspect of an aesthetic attitude toward nature: It makes it impossible for a person to adopt a one-sided consumerist approach and encourages contacts with nature on the basis of mutual "interests" and sometimes even exclusively on the basis of its intrinsic value. In my view, therefore, a universal aesthetic education would be more effective than many separate special steps taken for the preservation of the biosphere.

Speaking of an aesthetic attitude, let us note that we are forced to go back to one of its features: Its nonutilitarian nature. However, it is precisely this disinterestedness which makes its development a means for the boundless enrichment of the person -- his spiritual enrichment.

Let us recall Marx's familiar thoughts: "Private ownership has made us so dull and onesided that an object becomes ours only...if we use it... All physical and spiritual feelings have been replaced by a simple alienation of all these feeling, by the feeling of possession" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, p 120).

In the socialist society all consequences of such self-alienation of the human being must be defeated. In this respect an aesthetic upbringing could play an essential role precisely because an aesthetic attitude toward the object and the world at large carries a conscious feeling of its intrinsic value (and not as an object of possession and use). This reveals in man or restores to him the universal wealth of his feelings. Let us explain this with an example.

"A merchant in minerals," Marx wrote, "can see only the commercial value rather than the beauty and the characteristic nature of the mineral. He has no mineralogical feeling" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, p 122).

Such a merchant is poor as a person. His wealth has an alienated material aspect. Yet it is the aesthetic attitude toward this mineral and the disinterested close attention paid specifically to its beauty and originality which enrich the person with a specific feeling of spiritual wealth regardless of the external possession of the specific object.

It is thus that a person with a developed aesthetic attitude makes his the entire world and acquires a universal and inalienable wealth of feelings equivalent to the entire variety of the external world.

This example helps to understand another essential feature of the aesthetic attitude: The particular susceptibility to the sensory side of reality, to its "form."

Possibly this is what we should start with, for this is precisely what imparts an "aesthetic specificity" to the nonalienated attitude to the environment we mentioned. The very word "aesthetic" means related to a sensory perception.

An aesthetic attitude to reality creates a renewed and refined direct perception of life. This is not a question of simply sharpening the sensory organs or refining the "information" they provide. The point is the special standard of perception in the course of which the unique aspect of an object, person, natural phenomenon or event is conceived as a direct manifestation of the character, as the inner condition of the person or as his destiny, when it creates in the soul of man an equally unique emotional response and associations and when the external appearance of the object acts as a "transparent" carrier of its inseparable inner content taking it closer to the person who perceives it. This can be explained with the following example.

"My power of observation," Balzac wrote, "developed the sharpness of an instinct: Without ignoring the physical body, it captured the appearance of the person in such a way that it immediately penetrated into his inner world. It allowed me to live the life of that person, for it gave me the ability to identify with him...(H. Balzac, vol 7, p 340).

It is precisely this "transparency" of the external image, revealing the inner spiritual content, that we experience as the "beauty," the "excellence" of art and in the aesthetic perception of reality. This is the essential difference between it and the common concepts of "beauty." This was notably expressed in N. Zabolotskiy's poem "The Ugly Girl," which ends with the following familiar lines:

If this is so, what then is beauty
and why do people deify it?
Is it an empty vessel
or flame which flickers within it?

Therefore, an aesthetic education becomes a path to the person's acquisition of a universal self-awareness and an unlimited responsiveness to all phenomena in life and the ability to accept the surrounding world without alienation, like "one's own," with all the joys, pains and feelings of personal responsibility which such world outlook creates. Naturally, however, this does not mean in the least that it is precisely and exclusively an aesthetic education which can resolve such problems. On the contrary, any kind of education (if it is true education) should be able to resolve it in its own way. That is why, as we already pointed out, any kind of education of the individual is not a separate sector of training and education work but a specific facet of an organic wholeness, a facet through which we mandatorily perceive all the other important aspects of education.

For example, we saw that a moral principle as well is manifested in the aesthetic attitude to the person. The development of an aesthetic attitude to nature also means an ecological education. An aesthetic attitude toward the world at large shapes the person's social ideals and civic stance. It molds the personality directed toward the communist ideal of a universal community,

for communism also means "community," and one of its definitions is "the realized naturalism of man and the realized humanism of nature" K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, p 118). Aesthetic education in our society could and should set itself such objectives. Naturally, the extent to which they are reached is a matter of the future, but not the astronomical "future" which will arrive unassisted: In order to hasten it we need conscious and purposeful efforts. This, in particular, created the need for school reform.

In assessing the current situation from this point of view we find a number of omissions and contradictions in our work for an aesthetic education. Although we consider it within the context of the overall task of a communist education (the development of a harmonious individual as the target of social development), traces of the concept of man as a "partial" being are still noticeable in the way we concretize its tasks in pedagogical theory and practice. As a result, aesthetic education becomes something partial, merely an addition of more or less useful qualities to the person's spiritual world: The habit to communicate with art, the ability to derive a pleasure from artistic impressions and to "value beauty" in surrounding life and so on, rather than the development of an integral personality (and, consequently, to shape all of its qualities and the entire system of relations with the world).

It is not astounding, therefore, that despite the entire popularity and even a certain fashionableness of the problem of aesthetic education its real status in school pedagogy, in scientific research and in public opinion at large is not all that high.

Hardly anyone would place with complete sincerity the need for an aesthetic education on the same level as any vitally important problem of our time. More frequently we will encounter a sympathetic-condescending attitude toward it, as a luxury which is nice to have once everything needed in life has been acquired, but also something without which we could well do.

Nor is it astounding that in school practices graphic arts and music remain secondary and that literature is taught "not as an art." Its very classification as part of the "aesthetic cycle" would puzzle and even trigger the objections of some specialists.

We have somehow become used to the fact that the general education school does not resolve the problem of aesthetic education and that this should be the concern of the family and the extracurricular institutions (which, in the majority of cases, also fail to resolve it). This leads to most serious consequences, for this is the way a mass lack of aesthetic education develops in otherwise quite well educated people, who in later life easily do without exposure to great art and have no immunity from the influence of various forms of pseudoart and anti-art and, therefore, from the world outlook which underlies them. The school reform draft justifiably speaks of the need to "reliably block the penetration of indifference to ideas and trite and inferior spiritual output among the young." Naturally, this should apply above all not to a system of restrictions and bans, for such an external barrier is unreliable and could even trigger opposite consequences. Such a barrier should rise within the person, as a result of shaping his aesthetic awareness.

More than 60 years ago, in a conversation with Klara Zetkin, Lenin said that the people need "bread" and a certain admissible amount of "circuses" but immediately made a distinction between entertainment and Art: "...Our workers and peasants deserve something more than entertainment. They have earned the right to a truly great art. That is why we give priority to the widest possible development of public education and upbringing" ("V. I. Lenin o Literature i Iskusstve" [V. I. Lenin on Literature and Art]. Moscow, 1979, p 660).

During the first years of the Soviet system it was necessary to give the broadest possible masses access to the true values of artistic culture, to inform these masses of its very existence, to teach them how to read, to expose them to the achievements of the theater and to make classical work of music and graphics accessible to them. This was necessary but, as it turned out, insufficient.

Today the right of everyone to "truly great art" has been reliably secured. This is a tremendous achievement of our society. However, it does not fully resolve the problem of universal aesthetic education.

The question is how do we use this right. Are there many people who are in contact with great art on a permanent, systematic and serious basis, to whom it has become a vital need and, above all, a daily means of spiritual self-education?

Let us not console ourselves with illusions: Considering the current educational standard of the Soviet people, the extensive propaganda of the arts and the absence of theories of its inaccessibility to the "ordinary" person, we are forced to admit that the number of such people remains inadmissibly small. Let us reformulate the question: How many people would skip half of an ordinary soccer game to watch a program on Michelangelo, who genuinely prefer Faust to an ordinary crime novel or Glinka to a mediocre pop program? Or else "truly great art" to an entertaining and sometimes vulgar "show?" Yet we are speaking of graduates of the 10th grade or a VUZ, to whom access to all the treasures of world culture has been offered but who have not as yet acquired the key to its profound content or realized the valuable experience of an aesthetic attitude of man to the world. That is why they have no reason to trust their teachers who tells them that by ignoring Glinka and Michelangelo they rob themselves in a certain "very important" way.

In the majority of cases what was the nature of their acquaintanceship with art during their school years? Partially, the fact that they had to master some technical skills, methods and rules, regardless of their spiritual content, and partially that works of art were interpreted as a means of straight "upbringing," and the imposition of ready-made assessments.

Whenever a person acquires the experience of an aesthetic approach to the world and, with it, a new idea of himself as a result of his own creativity and through exposure to the art of others, the way to a lifelong, difficult yet desired self-education opens to him. Any drilled formal training received from an outside source not only fails to reach its purpose but creates in the child a secret negative attitude toward art used for such a purpose. After that same child has acquired the right to make his own choice, it accepts the

type of art which does not "educate" or demand any kind of growing pains but which, conversely, gratifies, entertains and services, leaving the person (in the best of cases) unchanged. Meanwhile, the gates of true aesthetic education remain closed tight and durably so, perhaps for the rest of his life.

Naturally, it may also happen that in his mature years the person will find and open this gate. On a national scale, however, the problem can be resolved only through aesthetic education in the school.

For everyone passes through the school and it is only through the school that it is possible to acquire a rich aesthetic education. It means, for the first time in history, to develop an aesthetically educated people and to secure favorable conditions for the comprehensive education of all subsequent generations of Soviet people. Let us state most unequivocally that no such area of training and education exists in which we can witness such a waste of spiritual wealth and such a disparity between tremendous opportunities and meager isolated results as in aesthetic education through the tools of art and artistic creativity! In this area the need for reform has long existed, a reform, precisely, rather than current repairs or replacements of individual obsolete parts. Naturally, this does not imply haste or a disrespectful consideration of positive experience. However, the change included in the new situation must be fundamental. It should begin with the reinterpretation of the main purpose of aesthetic education and end with the reorganization of the specific methods of daily work with children.

Let us emphasize that exposure to art, even to its best products, is no self-seeking aim in terms of an overall aesthetic education. True art, however, is the concentrated expression of the aesthetic experience of mankind, for which reason it is an irreplaceable tool or, to put it more aptly, the threshold which must be crossed by everyone if he is to acquire the ability to develop an aesthetic relationship with surrounding reality. This is the main purpose of a universal aesthetic education. This is a problem which must be resolved by the school. In turn, this will require the elaboration of a system of assignments aimed straight at developing an aesthetic attitude, which is the linchpin of the training process, as well as new (not "authoritarian") forms of communication between teacher and students.

Many essential changes will also have to be made in the mind of the educator and in the organization of the overall training process. Let us describe briefly the most important among them.

First. We must change not simply the "status" but, conventionally speaking, the subjects within the aesthetic cycle. It is no longer necessary to prove the need for them by references to their partial practical usefulness in the mastery of other subjects, areas of knowledge or activities. The value and worth of the aesthetic disciplines do not need any propping from the outside. Under the circumstances of today's school training the aesthetic cycle is the most important area in developing the harmonious personality of the member of the new society. Today this is our main task.

Second. An equally radical change must be made in our attitude toward the children. It is time to abandon our reduced concepts concerning their

possibilities, concepts which lead to a primitive level of tasks and criteria, which are inappropriate to art and which predominate today in the training process. Under such circumstances the child's capabilities not only remain underdeveloped but sometimes even decline under the effect of a training which, instead of leading the child forward direct it toward the "closest zone of development," lagging behind its possibilities acquired in preschool age and manifested in creative games.

There are reasons for asserting that serious and fruitful work in the field of aesthetic education can be started with children aged 6 or 7 (and possibly even younger). This is not only possible but necessary because many important aspects of this work become increasingly harder as time goes by, for a number of reasons. We must not strive in the least toward the simplification of tasks but toward finding a simple language and methods which will open to the child the undistorted essence of an aesthetic experience and artistic creativity.

Third. An aesthetic attitude to life is the single foundation of all arts. For this reason it is important to surmount any separatism in our concept of the tasks and methods used in the individual subjects within the aesthetic cycle and not to conceal the specifics of the individual arts behind their overall meaning (which is precisely what is happening today most frequently, as a result of which the child finds it difficult to relate to the representation of a stuffed bird, a discussion of Onegin's virtues and faults and the memorizing of musical notes).

Those who write the better curriculums for the various arts today proceed not from their technical characteristics but from their profound meaning, as a result of which they eliminate the distinctions among strictly specialized tasks, thus contributing to the general aesthetic and moral development and education of the student. An example of this is found in the acknowledged value of curriculums developed by the outstanding artists composer D. B. Kabalevskiy and painter B. M. Nemenskiy.

The next step should be precisely to make aesthetic education the main task in teaching the subjects within this cycle and to resolve this problem by exposing the children to the specific types of art. That is why, along with improving and introducing innovative curriculums for the individual arts, it is time to undertake the formulation of an overall program for aesthetic education, the general principles of which would be refracted through the teaching of the individual arts. One of the initial attempts in this respect is currently being practiced by a group of associates of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of General and Pedagogical Psychology. It is based on the materials used in teaching literature. The results already achieved allow us to appreciate in a novel fashion the creative and reading possibilities of junior students and make clear the organic unity which exists between aesthetic and moral education.

Fourth. One of the principles common to the teaching of all the individual arts should be to assign a leading importance to meaningful creative assignments and a subordinate importance to technical knowledge and skills, for exposure to art is a way of developing a nonalienated attitude toward

everything in life. It is particularly inadmissible for art itself to enter the life of the child as one of the alienated types of activity, as the sum of means, rules and preassessments regardless of thoughts, emotions and practical experience, regardless of the approach to the child as a unique human being.

From the very beginning of such training the aspiration of the child to express an interesting content, such as idea, emotion or assessment of reality, should be the leading feature. As this content becomes more complex a scarcity of means to express it will become apparent. It is precisely at that point that the educator must equip the student with the types of knowledge and skills which he will need in order to resolve a real problem and perform an interesting creative task. At no stage in the education process should the objective of creativity be replaced by the means with which to create.

Fifth. In order for contact with works of arts help the development of the personality of the child they must not be perceived separately from the personality of their creator. Having gained in the course of practical activities experience in the implementation of its own ideas, the child will be able to perceive of a work of art as embodying the thoughts and feelings of another person.

In developing in the student the ability to enter into a "dialogue" with the author, understand the author's assessment of reality, compare it to his own and agree or disagree with it, we are raising a person to whom art is not a passive reflection of the facts and events of life (even the most significant) but a force which shapes the outlook of the people and their ideals actively and purposefully, i.e., which changes reality and assumes responsibility for such change.

Sixth. Works of art should not be used a didactic means of imposing tailored assessments of people and events as presented in a given work. By simplifying the question of developing civic and moral qualities through art we obtain quite undesirable results. As a noted Soviet philosopher aptly said, the influence of great works may be indirect. It "elevates the overall spiritual level of the social subject and thus assists him in his struggle" (Mikh. Lifshits. Karl Marks i Obshchestvennyy Ideal" [Karl Marx and the Social Ideal]. Moscow, 1972, p 366).

Great art is the essence of man's aesthetic attitude toward the world. Its educational potential consists above all of its ability to awaken the type of attitude and thus to educate the person for whom there are no "alien" hopes and sufferings, who is able to value life selflessly and directly to experience his personal involvement with and responsibility for all and everyone encountered in life, from people, objects, immediate events and socially meaningful labor assigned to him to the destinies of his people, humankind, nature and the universe.

This means achieving a communist education and developing the progressive detachment of mankind which assumes the implementation, protection and defense of the interests of all mankind.

Clearly, organizational measures, even unquestionably important ones, such as recruiting specialists as teachers, broadening amateur activities circles and others, would be insufficient in resolving such problems in the course of the reorganization of the schools. Nor could all problems be resolved by increasing the number of class hours set aside for the aesthetic subjects, for we know that, with few exceptions, the study of literature, for example, encourages the true aesthetic development of children only slightly more than classes in the graphic arts, although the schools allocate incomparably less time and attention to the latter. On the other hand, classes based on some of the new curriculums we already mentioned intensify the training process to such an extent that far more difficult problems can be resolved within the same number of hours.

An effective curriculum requires above all profound changes in the training process itself. Incidentally, this applies to other tasks also mentioned in the CPSU Central Committee draft, such as the development of independent thinking and the need to work, moral upbringing, etc. In all cases, if the high objectives stipulated in the draft are to be reached intensive scientific educational work would be necessary, aimed at restructuring the methods of thinking and communicating between teacher and student, changing the emotional atmosphere itself in the classroom, the concepts of the development of the child and the conditions for the creative mastery of the material and so on.

It is for all of these considerations that I consider the expansion of item 15 of the draft necessary. Without limiting ourselves to the enumeration of the individual useful aspects of an aesthetic education, we must emphasize above all that "An aesthetic education is a powerful means of molding an integral personality, the spiritual and moral values of the person and his entire attitude toward reality -- the homeland, other people, nature, work and social events. For that reason, providing a universal aesthetic education is an urgent national problem in the solution of which the general educational school must play the main part."

In my view, the following stipulations should also be added to the document:

Under the circumstances of increased polytechnical training in the school the effectiveness of the subjects within the aesthetic cycle assumes particular importance: Their teaching must be such as to introduce a balance between the "rational" and "emotional" aspects of the training process and actively to contribute to the harmonious development of the individual;

Research collectives, individual scientists and frontranking teachers must be supported in their efforts to develop and extensively apply in school practices new training principles and experimental curriculums which lead to the development of an aesthetic attitude to life and the creative aptitudes of the children;

The aesthetic subjects must be taught throughout the entire period of school training (and not interrupted precisely at an age group when the personality of the student begins to develop most intensively and consciously);

Uniform principles governing the teaching of all subjects within the aesthetic cycle must be formulated in the immediate future. Ways should be sought to establish close ties among the individual subjects (thus, in one of its aspects -- "artistic work" -- the graphic art subject comes closer to the tasks related to labor training and contributes to the creative mastery of the tremendous range of contemporary professions and to efficient high-standard work);

A practical science center should be established to coordinate the work in the area of aesthetic education. Its main tasks would be the following: a. To formulate general psychological-pedagogical principles of aesthetic education and programs for their implementation in the course of teaching the various arts; b. to test such programs under experimental conditions and subsequently to apply their positive results in mass school practices; c. the intensive retraining of teachers and formulating programs for aesthetic education with the help of the arts for students in the respective departments of normal schools.

This will make it possible for the reform of the school in the area of aesthetic education to make efficient use of the inexhaustible potential of art in shaping the member of the new society.

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GUARDING THE PEACEFUL WORK OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

AU060745 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 79-88

[Article by V. Petrov, USSR deputy minister of defense, commander in chief of the Ground Forces, marshal of the Soviet Union, and Hero of the Soviet Union]

[Text] The Soviet people and their soldiers, the working people of the countries of the socialist community, the soldiers in their armies, and millions of our friends abroad are festively celebrating the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Soviet fighting men are fulfilling their patriotic and international duty in the atmosphere of enormous political and work enthusiasm, caused by the decisions of the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the ninth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and preparations for the elections to the supreme organ of the country's state authority. Together with all the people, they are persistently struggling to implement the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and of the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. Closely rallied around the communist party and its Leninist Central Committee, like all Soviet people, the fighting men of the army and navy unanimously approve and support the scientifically substantiated domestic and foreign policy of the party, of which the supreme aim is concern for the good of the people, preservation of peace, prevention of nuclear war, and defense of the great achievements of socialism. They tirelessly heighten the combat readiness of the Army and Navy, persistently perfect their military skills, and--together with the fighting men of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces--are fully determined to reliably defend the peaceful and creative work of their people and the peoples of the countries of the socialist community, and to defend peace on earth.

The entire history of the land of the soviets, born in the Great October Socialist Revolution, convincingly testified to the fact that socialism and peace are indivisible. The first decree of the Soviet state, proclaimed by V. I. Lenin literally the day after the victory of the October Revolution, was the decree of peace. From that time to the present day, when the Peace Program for the 1980s, put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress, is being persistently implemented, the principled and well-thought-out foreign political course of our country is characterized by a consistent love of peace.

But from the very first days following the establishment of Soviet authority, its enemies literally took up arms against the young Soviet republic. The flame of civil war flared up over the country's huge expanse.

The united forces of imperialism and the White Guards made one attempt after another to overthrow the power of the working people. Old systems were revived on territory seized by the enemy, and arbitrariness and outrages were perpetrated. American troops also took part in this brigandage. It is to precisely this time that Lenin's statement applies, when he said that American imperialism had opened a particularly tragic page in the bloody history of imperialism. The working people needed a strong and strictly disciplined regular army to repel the aggression of the imperialist reactionaries and to defend their revolutionary achievements. In those terrible days, Lenin, while generalizing the experience of the historical battles with the old world, said: "A revolution is worth something only if it defends itself..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 37, p 122). This conclusion has always guided our action both in the military-theoretical and the military-practical spheres.

The new socialist army was formed by Lenin and the communist party in the shortest possible time.

The formation of its first regular units was begun on the basis of Lenin's decrees on the organization of the Worker-Peasant Red Army and the Worker-Peasant Red Navy, signed on 28 January and 11 February 1918. In response to the appeal of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government--"The socialist fatherland is in danger!"--and to their appeal to defend the achievements of the October Revolution, thousands and thousands of workers and peasants joined the ranks of the Red Army. The working people of our country were compelled to take up arms to defend, in the words of Lenin, the achievements of the revolution and our people's power.

The day of the mass mobilization of the revolutionary forces of the people to heroically defend the achievements of the Great October Revolution against the invasion of the hordes of German imperialism, 23 February, was the day of the birth of the Red Army.

Guided by the theoretical tenets of Marxism, the Communist Party and Lenin worked out a well-composed doctrine on the defense of the socialist fatherland and the fundamental principles of forming the Red Army and defined its historical purpose and sources of strength and invincibility. Further developed in the program documents of the CPSU and the USSR Constitution, Lenin's military-theoretical legacy is also today the basis of party policy in the military construction sphere.

The Red Army and Navy defended the historical achievements of the October Revolution during the hard battles of the civil war and foreign intervention, which continued for approximately 3 years. The magnificent qualities of the Soviet military organization and the great conscious discipline and mass heroism of the Army of a new kind, which had mastered all forms of armed struggle, were demonstrated.

The Red Army was victorious because it waged a just liberation war, defended the socialist fatherland and was supported by the firm alliance of the workers class and the peasantry. The sons of all the peoples of our fatherland

fought courageously against the enemy under the battle banners of the Red Army. The international solidarity of the working people abroad contributed to the victory of the Red Army. Routing the enemy became possible because the country and the army were led by the communist party, the acknowledged vanguard of the working masses. It turned the country into a united military camp.

Having routed the forces of counterrevolution on the battlefields of civil war, the land of the soviets consolidated its domestic situation and international positions. The possibility of beginning to build socialism had been won. While implementing the Leninist plan for building socialism, the communist party and all our people devoted unremitting attention to strengthening the country's defense at the same time. This course was dictated by the actual situation: The imperialists had not renounced their plans to liquidate the first socialist state in the world. They repeatedly tried to sound out our military might. But, each time, courageously fulfilling their sacred duty to defend the achievements of socialism, the Soviet armed forces crushed the aggressors.

The Great Patriotic War was the hardest test for the Soviet people and its armed forces.

The Soviet people fought 1,418 days and nights for the freedom and independence of the motherland. Exhibiting inflexible steadfastness and courage, our armed forces halted the enemy and then destroyed it. We are celebrating the Soviet Army and Navy Day this year in a situation of widely developed preparations for the 40th anniversary of our great victory.

The utter defeat of the fascist invaders and the victory won by the Soviet people and its armed forces in the war were brought about by our advanced social system and the country's powerful economic basis and were ensured thanks to the high morale of the troops, the heroism and courage of the soldiers, their unlimited devotion to the socialist motherland and to the communist party, their belief in the rightness of our cause and their fierce hatred of the occupier.

As in the years of the civil war, the main and most important source of victory over the fascist aggressors was the leadership of the communist party. It was precisely the communist party that ensured the fullest and most purposeful use of the great advantages inherent in the socialist system, mobilized all the people to repel the enemy, and was the real creator of victory. The party strictly adhered to the Leninist behest on the unity of political and military leadership. This made it possible for it to rally the people and the army still more closely and to give the war an all-people's character.

The victory of the Soviet people and its armed forces in the Great Patriotic War assumed world-wide historical significance. We did not just defend the freedom and independence of the beloved motherland in the hard battles with the enemy; we also helped many countries in Europe and Asia to liberate themselves from the fascist yoke. A whole series of states were given the opportunity to choose an independent, democratic and socialist path of development

for themselves. The positions of capitalism were seriously undermined and its sphere of action narrowed. At the same time, the authority of the Soviet Union grew immeasurably, and new, favorable opportunities opened up for the growth of the world revolutionary movement.

However, the weakening of imperialism's positions in the postwar period increased its aggressiveness still more. Forces in its camp began to regroup. The leading position in the capitalist world was assumed by the United States. In the interests of consolidating its political and military-strategic positions, and holding a temporary monopoly of nuclear weapons, the United States resorted to blackmailing and threatening the USSR, its recent ally in the anti-Hitlerite coalition, and knocked together a number of military blocs, subordinating all its activity to plans for preparing and unleashing a nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy is and always was aimed at strengthening peace, cooperation and international security. Neither the United States nor its NATO allies can refute the fact, however much they would like to, that it was not our country that initiated the arms race and the formation of military-political blocs. The USSR has been compelled to adopt purely necessary countermeasures to every new challenge from the West.

In a short time, the Soviet people rebuilt the war-torn economy and achieved a further upsurge in the economy, science and culture. All this made it possible to increase the country's defense potential and the fighting strength of the army and navy. The USSR also liquidated the U.S. monopoly on production of nuclear arms. The realization that retribution by the Soviet Armed Forces would be inevitable somewhat dampened the bellicose ardor of those hoping to instigate a new war on the other side of the ocean.

Mankind has not experienced the disasters of world war for approximately 4 decades. The decisive credit for this goes to the Soviet Union.

Its defense might is the main restraining factor which prevents imperialism from starting a military conflagration on a global scale.

We all well remember the beginning of the 1970s. The increased economic and military might of our country firmly ensured a stable equilibrium between the USSR and the United States. This, together with the struggle of the peoples for peace and disarmament, a struggle which had widely developed throughout the world, led to a certain lessening of tension in the international situation, and to a definite improvement in the relations between states with different social systems. Real prerequisites for detente were also created in the military sphere.

However, the detente which began to take shape clearly did not correspond to the interests of aggressive circles in the United States and in a number of NATO countries. Hiding behind the smokescreen of the myth of the "Soviet military threat," the forces of imperialism, and particularly American imperialism, embarked upon a course to wreck detente and return to the "cold war,"

to alter the approximate parity of military-strategic forces in the world arena in their favor and to gain military superiority over the world of socialism.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community take into account the fact that recently the tension in the international situation has sharply increased and that the military danger has intensified. The U.S. militarist circles and their NATO allies are striving more and more persistently to gain complete and individual supremacy in the whole world, making all countries and continents subordinate to them.

The plans and calculations of the present U.S. Administration, which bode ill for the peoples of the world, are expressed in the new military strategy drawn up at Reagan's initiative and called "the strategy of direct antagonism." According to a statement by U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger, its main aim is to gain "complete and indisputable" military superiority, to restore the "leading role of the United States in the world" and to actively oppose the Soviet Union in the "defense of the vital interests of the United States" in various regions of the world. The U.S. ruling circles are banking particularly on preparing and carrying out a "preventive nuclear strike against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries."

Having taken the role of world gendarme upon itself, the United States unceremoniously interferes everywhere in the internal affairs of sovereign and independent states. The world recently witnessed the overt armed aggression of the American military against Grenada, an undeclared war is being waged against the people of Lebanon, and bandit attacks organized by the United States are carried out against Nicaragua and Angola. Everywhere--in Central and South America, in Africa and Asia--the United States is planting reactionary dictatorship regimes, without concern for the will of the peoples, and is creating tension, and hotbeds of aggression and conflicts. The present U.S. administration has chosen an openly militaristic course which represents a serious threat to peace. The essence of this course consists in attempting to ensure the United States dominant world positions, while disregarding the interests of other states and peoples. The "crusade" against communism, proclaimed by the U.S. President, pursued a hopeless aim--to destroy socialism as a sociopolitical system.

The ever-increasing military preparations of the United States and other NATO member-states is testified to by their expenditure on the accelerated development of new strategic offensive weapons systems. During the last 3 years alone, the Pentagon budget has amounted to almost \$640 billion. Another \$280 billion has been allocated for 1984 and appropriations for the arms race for the coming 5 years will amount to \$2 trillion! This is approximately the same amount spent by the Pentagon during 35 postwar years.

A broad program is being implemented in the United States calculated to bring the latest weapons systems into operation in the near future, and primarily those of strategic offensive forces. These are the MX and Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missiles, nuclear missile submarines with Trident missiles, the B-1B and Stealth strategic bombers and long-range cruise missiles based in the air, sea and on land.

Work is being conducted in the United States on a large scale to build comprehensive antimissile defense systems. No expenses are being spared for this purpose: For the coming 5 years alone, up to \$27 billion has been appropriated. Intensified preparation of means of warfare in space is also a component part of American military preparations.

The course of the present U.S. administration, which thinks in terms of war and acts in accordance with its militarist plans, is very dangerous. It is aimed at gaining military superiority, and is convincingly apparent in the White House approach to nuclear arms limitation and reduction talks. The Soviet-American Geneva talks were wrecked through the fault of Washington. The SALT II treaty, once signed by the United States, was also repudiated by it.

Disregarding the will of the peoples and their unanimous striving for peace, U.S. ruling circles have begun to deploy new American first-strike missiles in a number of West European countries. They are striving to blunt the vigilance of the peoples, who are worried by the danger of war, by saying that the deployment of new missiles will allegedly ensure Europe's security. These claims are nothing but pure deception.

The deployment of new American missiles has led to an increased nuclear threat on the continent and, at the same time, has in no way strengthened the security of the United States itself. Not only military, but also political tension has increased, for the actions of the U.S. leaders and of those NATO countries which agreed to accept the Pershing and cruise missiles on their territory led to the breakdown of the negotiations, the aim of which was to limit and essentially reduce nuclear arms.

What exactly has official Washington achieved, by breaking off the negotiations? The U.S. government clearly believed that the beginning of the deployment of new missiles would force the USSR to make major military and political concessions. But this was false reckoning. In questions of nuclear security, the USSR and the United States are in an equal position, since there exists an approximate military balance which, as is well-known, American officials themselves have repeatedly acknowledged.

Washington's policy is deeply inimical to the interests of peace and international cooperation. The sinister plans of the U.S. administration against life itself on this planet have aroused the indignation and anger of peoples on all continents.

Preserving and strengthening world-wide peace was and is the paramount concern of the communist party and the Soviet state. Millions of people on earth note with deep gratitude that, in the present troubled international situation, it is precisely the USSR and its allies that are making concrete and realistic proposals which ensure a reliable path to trust and cooperation between countries and peoples and to ensuring peace on earth.

We will allow no one to speak to us from a position of strength, the Soviet people and the soldiers of our armed forces say with complete resolve.

Yu. V. Andropov's answers to PRAVDA's questions fully reflect our concern over the tension in the international situation. The Soviet Union will also henceforth do everything to preserve peace. It is precisely this which dictated the proposal of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community to clear Europe of nuclear weapons, both intermediate-range and tactical. The Soviet Union is ready to use every real opportunity to reach practical agreement on limiting and reducing nuclear weapons on the only basis possible in the present conditions, that is, on the principles of parity and equal security. "...The Soviet Union is prepared to resolve the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe only on a constructive and mutually acceptable basis," Yu. V. Andropov noted. "One thing is necessary for this--before it is too late, the United States and NATO must show readiness to return to the situation which existed before the beginning of the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles. We pose this problem to the United States and its NATO allies, because we wish to avoid yet another spiral of the arms race, this time at a new and still more dangerous level which would lead to increased tension and instability in Europe." We will judge by the practical deeds of the United States and its allies whether they have serious intentions to conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union.

While pursuing a peace-loving policy, our party and the Soviet people vigilantly follow the militarist preparations of imperialism's aggressive forces. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are concerned with further increasing the combat strength and combat readiness of the Soviet army and navy.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized in his speech at the February 1984 extraordinary CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "We will see the threat created today for mankind by the reckless and adventurist actions of imperialism's aggressive forces and we speak loudly of this threat, thus drawing the attention of peoples the whole world over to this danger. We do not need military superiority and we have no intention of dictating our will to others, but we will not permit the military balance which has been reached to be broken. And let no one entertain the slightest doubts: We will also henceforth work to strengthen our country's defense capability and to make sure we have enough means with the aid of which the hotheads of militant adventurists can be cooled."

The might of our motherland and of the whole socialist community and the timely measures taken by our party and government to strengthen our defense capability ensure a reliable shield against those who are fond of military adventures. Despite the complexity of the military-political situation, there is no need to dramatize it. But, on the other hand, and this, too, should be borne in mind, in conditions where imperialist circles are banking on breaking the parity which exists between the two systems in the sphere of strategic and conventional forces, preserving this parity and also reliably ensuring the security of our country and its allies is by no means automatic.

All this requires a considerable amount of effort both from the soldiers of the armed forces and from those who, by their work in workshops, scientific laboratories and in the kolkhoz fields implement the historical plans of the

party. In the present complex international situation, the Soviet people consider the absolute fulfillment of state plans not only an obligation but the patriotic duty of every Soviet citizen and every labor collective.

In contemporary situations Lenin's words ring particularly true: He who has the greatest technical equipment, organization and discipline gains the upper hand. Attention was once again drawn to each of these three factors in the documents of the December CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Fuller and more effective use of our scientific-technical potential and the strengthening of organization and discipline and of order in the spheres of production and distribution which are the aims set by the plenum decisions are expected not only to ensure considerable progress in the economy and the growth of well-being but also to strengthen the defense potential of the motherland and increase its international authority, and this means to strengthen peace on earth.

Intensifying the vigilance of the Soviet people with regard to the intrigues of imperialism, rallying the working people around the communist party still more closely and increasing their awareness are no less significant in further increasing the defense capability of our country.

Having armed the party with a scientifically substantiated program of perfecting ideological and mass-political work the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum turned serious attention to the sector of military-patriotic education. It must be noted that the now-changed international situation makes these questions still more acute. The party, trade union and Komsomol committees, DOSAAF organizations, veterans of the revolution and the civil and Great Patriotic wars consider the military-patriotic education of the population, and primarily of young people, to be their own vital concern. Valuable experience of this kind of work has been accumulated in Moscow and Leningrad, Belorussia and Tula and Volgograd Oblasts.

Feelings for the homeland and love for the paternal land are one of the deepest aspects of the personality which is conceived in childhood, and becomes a firm conviction and guidance toward action in early youth when life's path is chosen. That is why a special role in patriotic education is assigned to the school. The meetings of schoolchildren and students of vocational technical education institutes with soldiers at the Great Patriotic War and with young soldiers who protect the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the paramilitary games of Zarnitsa and Orlenok and youth holidays at military-sport camps have long since become a tradition. Defining the direction and main functions of heroic-patriotic education of the youth, the CPSU Central Committee recommends in the draft reform of general education and vocational schools: "The military-patriotic education of students must be based on preparing them for service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces, instilling in them love for the Soviet Army and imbuing them with a great feeling of pride for belonging to the socialist fatherland and with a constant readiness to defend it." The draft aims at "raising the level and effectiveness of elementary military training in general education and vocational schools." There is no doubt that the draft in preparation will strengthen cooperation

between the schools, soldiers and the veterans of the fatherland's defense still further.

The military commissariats and the political organs of the armed forces actively participate in the military-patriotic education of young people. In the Transcaucasus Military District, the joint work of commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations is conducted on the basis of long-term plans. The troop sections and the military education institutions in the Moscow Military District have assumed the patronage of a whole series of schools, technical schools, and vocational-technical education institutes, helping them in the military-patriotic and physical education of the students.

During the past 2 years, more than 570 Volgograd schoolchildren, formed into search detachments of the Red Pathfinders, went on marches to places of revolutionary, labor and military glory, together with soldier-patrons. They established the names of more than 8,000 previously unknown defenders of Stalingrad and put in order the brotherly graves and monuments.

Thanks to the daily work in the military-patriotic education of young people below the call-up age, the Soviet Armed Forces have a high number of new soldiers every year.

The commands of the units and formations, the political organs and the army and navy party and Komsomol organizations strive so that those young people called up to the ranks of the army and navy quickly master up-to-date, complex military equipment and rally into solid combat-effective soldier collectives.

The commanders, political organs and party organizations show constant concern to further improve the military-patriotic education of the Soviet soldiers and to form the high moral-political and fighting qualities in them which are so necessary for defending the socialist fatherland.

When we speak of traditions, we do not only have the heroic past in mind. Traditions live on and develop and multiply with every new generation. It is important to intensify propaganda of the heroic spirit of the contemporary soldier's life alongside propaganda of the heroic history of our homeland. Major Ruslan Aushev, Hero of the Soviet Union and graduate of the Ordzhonikidze Higher Combined Arms Command Officer School, was recently a guest of the soldiers of one of the garrisons of the North Caucasus Military District. He proudly told the young soldiers about the Soviet soldier-internationalists, about the great sense of responsibility characteristic of them and their striving to help out a comrade and the local population at any moment, and about the unselfish aid to the people of Afghanistan.

The living example of Ruslan Aushev and his comrades-in-arms confirms that today's young soldiers are loyal to the heroic traditions of their fathers. Of course, courage and heroism are not only found in the army. Our young people must be taught and educated with the best examples of the man of labor, the possessor of high ideological-moral qualities. Every Soviet citizen must be deeply aware of the fact that today the battlefield with

imperialism crosses our hearts, and that to be a patriot of the homeland means working well and tirelessly to increase the economic and defense potential of the country.

Indissolubly linked with the people and led by the communist party, the Soviet Army and Navy are marking their 66th anniversary in a state of high combat readiness. They are ready to defend the freedom and independence of our homeland and of its friends and allies at any moment.

"While strengthening our defense capability, we are devoting a great deal of attention to increasing the fighting strength and combat effectiveness of the Soviet Armed Forces," emphasizes Comrade D. F. Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR minister of defense and marshal of the Soviet Union "and we are striving so that they are always up to the level of contemporary demands." Through the efforts of the Soviet people, all arms of the armed forces and all types of troops and naval forces are today equipped with the most up-to-date weapons and military equipment. These weapons and equipment were made possible thanks to scientific discoveries, the prominent achievements of the socialist planned economy, and the heroic labor of workers, designers, engineers and scientists.

The combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces today is a firm combination of the advanced state of technical equipment and high military skill and indestructible morale.

During the last 2 decades, the Ground Troops have undergone fundamental change as the most numerous section of the armed forces and the most diverse in terms of weapons and technical equipment. They are capable of fulfilling major strategic tasks in defeating the enemy both in conjunction with the other sections of the armed forces and independently.

They are composed of members of the motorized rifle units, tank troops, rocket troops and artillery, airborne troops, air defense troops and also specialized engineering, chemical, communications, radio technicians, motor vehicle, road, pipelines, rear and military-construction units and subunits.

The organizational structure, the level of training and the degree of combat readiness of the Ground Forces fully meet the high contemporary demands of conducting combat operations.

The glorious traditions of the Ground Forces develop and multiply in daily training and service and in maneuvers and troop exercises. A complex situation is created during these maneuvers and exercises which is as close as possible to the reality of combat.

Long marches are carried out, offensive and defensive operations are conducted and combat firing is practiced. The exercises are a serious test of fighting maturity for the soldiers.

The formation of the Strategic Rocket Forces was a fundamentally new step in the Soviet military construction, these forces being the main component part

of the strategic nuclear forces, which are a powerful factor in deterring the aggressors.

The Air Defense Forces are a reliable shield for protecting the country, army and navy from enemy air attacks. Their combat strength is based on anti-aircraft missile complexes and missile-carrying interceptor fighter planes. The combat potentials of the Air Defense troops' weapons make it possible to strike all of the enemy's modern means of air attack at extreme ranges, high and low altitudes and at supersonic speeds of light.

During the past years, the air force has undergone fundamental changes. It is equipped with supersonic, all-weather aircraft armed with nuclear and contemporary missiles weapons.

The party and the state devote intent attention to developing the navy, in accordance with the demands of Soviet military doctrine. The navy has grown into an oceanic navy. Nuclear submarines armed with underwater-launched missiles and modern torpedoes and also the naval missile-carrying aircraft are the basis of its combat strength. The fleet has at its disposal missile-carrying vessels, shore sections and the marine infantry.

Showing constant concern to perfect the armed forces, our party proceeds from the fact that the main and decisive force in a war has been and is man himself. Fundamental changes in the military-technical sphere, in the organizational structure of the troops and in the nature and methods of waging a war have immeasurably increased the demands for combat training, education of personnel, moral-political qualities and the ideological and psychological hardening of the fighting men of the army and navy.

Contemporary weaponry and military equipment are complex and varied. Whereas during the years of World II, the number of specialized military professions reached 160, now there are more than 2,000 of them. Only those who are well-educated and who have had sufficient technical training can successfully master military skills today. A high level in field, air and sea training and skillful mastery of technical equipment weapons are achieved by intensive military work. Officers, ensigns and warrant officers, sergeants and petty officers daily perfect the methods of military training, introduce advanced experience into the training process and carefully prepare every lesson. But the quality of the training and the results of military work depend very much upon the soldiers themselves and their activeness, initiative and personal sense of responsibility. Persistence, purposefulness and a profound awareness of the responsibility to exemplarily fulfill military duty help the soldiers to become high-class specialists and army men with excellent results in combat and political training.

Socialist competition is an important means of improving the quality and effectiveness of military training and the efficiency of education. In the current academic year this competition was developed in the army and navy under the slogan "Be on guard, and in constant readiness to defend the achievements of socialism!" The fighting men have taken on intensive socialist obligations, are persistently struggling to fulfill them and are marking

the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy and the day of elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet with worthy military achievements. The initiators of competition in the arms of the armed forces go confidently forward: the Proskurov Red Banner Motorized Rifle Regiment of the Suvorov and Kutuzov Order (Commander Major A. Stolyarov), and the N-Missile Section (Commander Lt Col A. Pavlov), the Smolensk Red Banner Air Defense Guards Antiaircraft Missile Regime, holder of the Orders of Suvorov, Kutuzov and Bogdan Kmelnitskiy (Guards Commander Lt Col V. Nechayev), the Guards Fighter Aircraft Regiment, holder of two orders (Guards Commander Lt Col Yu. Temnikov) and the Red Banner nuclear missile cruiser Korov (Commander Capt of the First Rank A. Kovalchuk).

The authority of the Soviet Armed Forces is also high as a school of education for our youth. "The people rightly call our army and navy the school of courage, love of work and high morality," Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "We must continue to increase in every possible way the educational role of the Soviet Armed Forces even further." The whole process of training and education and the whole way of life in the army and navy are conducive to this. The commanders and political organs and the party and Komsomol organizations show daily concern to intensify the ideological hardening of the soldiers, to heighten their awareness and to instill in them the sense of social responsibility for the country's security. In this respect it is important that these qualities should become deep, inner convictions and the active, living position of every military serviceman.

The whole structure of our army service is permeated with the spirit of internationalism. One now frequently comes across subdetachments in the army and navy in which soldiers of 15 to 20 and more nationalities are serving. Joint military work brings soldiers together, educates them in the spirit of military comradeship and contributes to their mutual ideological, spiritual and cultural enrichment.

The Soviet soldiers multiply the traditions of the older generation by their worthy deeds, devoutly fulfill their constitutional duty and, in a united formation with the armies of the fraternal Warsaw Pact member-countries, perform with honor their honored and responsible watch duty.

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CSO: 1802/9

IN ALLIANCE WITH THE VICTORIOUS PROLETARIAT

AU101625 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 89-101

[Article by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR]

[Text] Marxist-Leninist theory views the development of society as a natural historical process, during the course of which one socioeconomic structure successively replaces another.

In accordance with this general historical law no society, in the words of K. Marx, "can jump over the natural phases of development or abolish them by decrees" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 10). This idea of Marx's, which refers to the preimperialist stage of development of capitalism and is taken from the sum total of his views on the historical process in all its diverse unity, has also frequently been used to sermonize about the allegedly "civilizing mission" of colonizers in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where the foreign invaders "did much good" for many peoples, giving them access to the achievements of the bourgeois era.

From the point of view of the Second International's theoreticians, including K. Kautskiy and his contemporary followers, the "normal" development path of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries to socialism generally conforms to the following simple pattern: These people must, they say, quietly and submissively bear the yoke of colonialism and wait until the social revolution--which will give them independence--takes place in all developed capitalist countries. Then, having gradually developed the productive forces in these countries, elements of the local and incoming foreign bourgeoisie will carry out bourgeois revolutions. And only when the workers' class comprises most of the population everywhere there and reaches a majority vote for the social democrats (the names can vary) at parliamentary elections which will place the reins of political power into their hands--only then will it be possible to think of socialism also.

Such is the essence of the abstract, scholastic reasoning of right-wing social democratic leaders and theoreticians on the ways of transition to socialism, and such is the quintessence of "evolutionary," "democratic" socialism that rejects the life and revolutionary spirit of Marxism and its dialectics. It is completely natural that, as a result of this approach, the whole political practice of right-wing social democracy--which has been in

power more than once in various West European countries--has invariably amounted to attempts merely to smooth over the sharpest contradictions of bourgeois society, leaving its foundation (that is, capitalist private ownership of the means of production) inviolable.

However, the pattern of world social development, artificially designed by social reformists, in no way includes the completely real and indisputable fact that the peoples of the Soviet republics of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Kazakhstan--not to mention the comparatively small populations of the USSR far north, and after them, the peoples of Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos and other countries--have "broken" the general historical rule and bridged one or even two socioeconomic systems in a short time. Today, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, the PDRY and other socialist-oriented countries whose ruling parties have adopted positions of scientific socialism are "violating" the abstract pattern of development in the same way.

What is involved is that no single "timetable" for world historical development exists, as Marx indicated in his works.

That is why he always objected to attempts to turn his teaching into "an historical-philosophical theory on the general path that all peoples are fated to traverse, regardless of the historical conditions in which they may find themselves..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, p 120). He considered this kind of interpretation of his teaching both too flattering and too shameful for him.

Scientific theory provides an idea of the general course of movement, reveals the forces that assist or hinder this movement and furthers the better organization of revolutionary forces. But, taking all this into account, every people and every nation traverses its own path of development in concrete historical conditions and in the face of many factors that can fundamentally influence the manifestation of the general law revealed by Marx.

The first of these factors was capitalism entering its highest and final stage--imperialism. The latter was not apparent in the era when Marx and Engels lived and worked. Dogmatists from the ranks of official leaders and ideologists of the Second International contrived not to notice it and later were unable to explain it. The new factor of world development was comprehensively analyzed by V. I. Lenin on the basis of the Marxist dialectic-materialist method. This analysis provided a number of fundamental revelations and contributed much that was new to the theory of socialist revolution and the revolutionary-liberation, democratic movement in the colonial and dependent countries, and to the definition of the stages of historical progress of peoples earlier crushed by the oppression of feudal lords and imperialists.

A second and decisive factor which fundamentally changed the "normal" (from the point of view of Kautskiy and his social-reformist followers in colonial and dependent countries) course of historical development not only of many scores of peoples who previously lagged behind in socioeconomic and cultural respects, but also of all mankind as a whole, was the Great October Socialist

Revolution in Russia and its consequences: the formation of the USSR, the formation of the first socialist society in the world, the utter defeat of the shock forces of imperialism in World War II and the formation of the world socialist community, which is the stronghold of working people the world over in their struggle for peace, freedom, independence and social progress. This social progress in itself, in the era begun by the Great October Revolution, also signifies a diversity of forms, approaches, rates of progress and movement toward socialism and communism which is not simultaneous and direct and is punctuated by pauses and temporary deviations but which, as a whole, is progressive and insuperable.

Being a class expression of the effect of the general law of mankind's movement from a lower system to a higher one (in this case, from capitalism to socialism), the victory of the October Revolution opened up real possibilities for many formerly backward peoples to shorten their path to socialism by bypassing the phases of development through which they had not passed.

These possibilities were substantiated by Lenin with brilliant insight. He said at the Second Comintern Congress: "With the help of the proletariat in advanced countries, backward countries can also make the transition to the Soviet system over certain stages of development--to communism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 246).*

Mongolia was the first country in the world to implement the Leninist idea of transition from a precapitalist social system to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development and utilizing in this connection local forms of organization, as Lenin taught. Mongolia's revolutionaries operated in a country where there was no workers' class, and capitalism was mainly represented by foreign merchants and usurers. But our revolutionaries were guided by the ideological weapon of the proletariat--Marxism-Leninism--and the practical advice of Lenin, who pointed out: "It is quite clear that peasants, who are in a state of semifeudal dependence, can excellently master the idea of soviet organization and put it into practice. It is also clear that the oppressed masses, exploited not only by trade capital but also by feudal

* In view of the numerous distortions of Lenin's ideas by bourgeois and reformist ideologists, who cling to the letter of Leninist quotations, two explanations are necessary in this connection: 1) when speaking of the Soviet system, Lenin never envisioned an artificial transfer to the Soviet power experience to any country, but indicated the simplest and most accessible form of organizing the most backward masses that would help them achieve the aims they had set. Thus, he said of the noncapitalist countries: "Soviets are possible there; they will not be workers' soviets, but peasants' soviets, or soviets of the working people" (ibid., p 234); 2) "Bypassing the capitalist stage of development" does not mean, according to Lenin, that a "pure" transition to socialism must necessarily be made by a society of socialist orientation in complete absence of any elements of the capitalist structure that the imperialists have succeeded in planting everywhere, if only to a small degree.

lords and a state based on a feudal system, can also use this weapon and this form of organization in their situation. The idea of soviet organization is simple, and can be applied not only to the proletariat but also to feudal and semifeudal peasant relations" (ibid., pp 244-245).

Local forms of this kind of organization (people's revolutionary and national soviets) can be seen in Vietnam and Laos, and they are specific in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, in the PDRY and Angola, and in other countries of socialism or of socialist orientation embarked on a path from precapitalist systems toward socialism, or just taking their first steps along this path.

But whatever the specific features, the historical condition for successful implementation of the transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, was and is comprehensive ideological, political, material and military aid from the socialist transformation in Russia's formerly backward national regions was the state alliance of workers from the industrially developed regions with the peasantry--including peasantry also from regions with precapitalist systems--in our country the main factor of social progress was the interstate alliance of the workers' class of Soviet Russia with the Mongolian peasantry.

Let us start with the fact that Mongolia would not have been able to drive out the White Guard bands of Baron Ungern and the Chinese militarists and gain independence without the direct military aid of the young Soviet state. This, too, reflected a general phenomenon rather than a particular national one. It was only thanks to the October Revolution and the subsequent victories of socialism that the imperialists found themselves limited in their aggressive actions and could no longer maraud as they had marauded Hungary, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Finland in the 1918-1919 period. Today the socialist world is a reliable guarantee that the imperialists are more and more frequently unable to smother the national-liberation movement and to stamp out the beginnings of socialism in countries embarking on the socialist path of development.

From the very first days of the victorious revolution in Mongolia, the policy formulated by Lenin of achieving the closest possible alliance between all national-liberation and colonial-liberation movements and Soviet Russia assumed the most concrete forms in the relations between our two countries and peoples. These forms also included help in forming a central apparatus for managing and organizing the peasant livestock breeders, without whose support and understanding the new authority could not exist.

They also included an orderly organization of an economic life that had been wrecked by the outrages committed by local exploiters and foreign occupationists hostile to the Mongolian people.

Having lived through the harshest ideals at the beginning of the 1920s (famine, devastation and the civil war that was still going on), the Soviet state provided a lofty example of internationalism not in words, but in deeds. The Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Soviet people implemented in practice Lenin's direction that "direct aid must be given by

all communist parties to revolutionary movements in dependent or unequal nations ... and in the colonies.

"Without this latter particularly important condition, recognition of the struggle of dependent nations and colonies against oppression and recognition of their right to separate statehood are meaningless, as we can see with the parties of the Second International" (ibid., p 165). As early as 1920 Lenin noted that internationalism, acknowledged in words, was being supplanted by petty bourgeois nationalism in deeds, and that this was becoming widespread, being "the most common phenomenon not only among the parties of the Second International, but also among those which have left this International, and even frequently among those who now call themselves communists" (ibid.).

The acknowledgment of internationalism only in words, without doing everything possible to support the revolutionary struggle of oppressed peoples, promoted a slide toward national egoism and to attempts by social reformist parties to improve or retain their petty bourgeois well-being won by the workers' class from their bourgeoisie.

The Leninist party and the Soviet people have always been true internationalists in deed, and have made sacrifices and suffered privations to extend fraternal aid to the struggle of all the oppressed and unfortunate.

It is precisely thanks to this aid that the Mongolian people were also able to begin their difficult path from terrible poverty, complete lack of rights, heavy feudal-theocratic oppression, and the most brutal enslavement by foreign invaders to a glorious future--socialism. Always, at every step along this path, the people have felt the open-hearted help, support, and protection of their neighbors--the great Soviet people.

As with other countries later embarking on the path toward socialism from precapitalist and early capitalist relations, Mongolia also lacked ready material and political prerequisites for immediate socialist construction. These prerequisites were formed gradually as a result of profound revolutionary transformations which have affected all spheres of social life: the economy, culture and ideology. This necessitates a relatively long and extremely complex process of transition.

Mongolia's experience, which has already been confirmed by a number of other states, makes it possible to establish that at least two basic stages of revolutionary transformation--general democratic and socialist--are characteristic of countries with precapitalist and early capitalist relations that have embarked on the path of sovereign development and are progressing toward socialism, bypassing capitalism.

The long experience of the MPR, as one of the first countries to traverse this path, has definitively revealed the fundamental laws of noncapitalist development specific to countries passing from precapitalist relations to socialism.

These fundamental laws concern the achievement of political and economic independence, establishing people's democratic authority in a form accessible

and comprehensive to the broad masses of the working people, liquidating serfdom and feudal ownership, forming new branches of the economy and culture and forming the workers class and the people's intelligentsia on this basis. Implementing these laws ensures: first, liberation from the fetters of the imperialist colonial system; second, liquidation of precapitalist relations; and third, the creation of the material basis and social support for the subsequent transition to building socialist society.

Under Mongolia's conditions, the formation of the People's Revolutionary Party by D. Sukhe Bator and his comrades-in-arms in March 1921, a party which grasped the liberation ideas of the October Revolution, used them as a weapon, and skillfully applied them in a backward peasant country in which feudal-serf relations held sway, was immensely significant for embarking on revolutionary-democratic transformations. Under party leadership the Mongolian People's Republic was proclaimed in 1924 and a true people's government was formed in which the decisive role was played by the party, which was guided in its activity by the workers class' ideology. All this was the basis for gradually turning the illiterate peasantry (peasant livestock breeders), living in indigence and superstition, first toward the revolutionary-democratic, and later also the socialist undertakings of the new power.

The peasant working people everywhere make up the overwhelming majority of the population in countries similar to Mongolia of the 1920s. Economically, socially and culturally they are vitally interested in the victory of socialism, although they understand that it can by no means be achieved immediately and that it requires great efforts. The working peasantry is capable of resolutely supporting the revolutionary proletariat (and in those countries where there is still no or almost no revolutionary proletariat, the revolutionary-democratic vanguard--the party), as Lenin affirmed, "only after it has won political power, only after it has resolutely dealt with the large landowners and capitalists, and only after these crushed people have realized in practice that they have an organized leader and defender, sufficiently powerful and firm to provide aid and leadership, and to point out the true path" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 41, p 173).

The foundation of feudal production relations, which had held back the development of Mongolia's productive forces for centuries, was undermined by the abolition of serfdom, the nationalization of land and its transformation into public property, the introduction of a progressive tax system and the confiscation of livestock owned by the secular and spiritual feudal lords. Revolutionary measures implemented by the people's government to annul the usurer's debts to foreign merchants, to establish a customs' system, a monopoly on foreign trade and national sovereignty of natural resources, to form the national finance-credit and trade systems, and to form and strengthen the state and cooperative industries ensured the squeezing out of foreign trade-usurer capital from the country's economy, this capital having served as an instrument for stealing Mongolia's national wealth for centuries.

It must be noted that being a neighbor to the Soviet Union has been favorable from the very beginning and helped the KPR win its economic independence from the imperialist countries in a historically short period of time. The

extensive trade-economic relations established with the first socialist state in the world completely satisfied the needs of the MPR's national economy which, at the initial stage, were modest. This provided the opportunity at the end of 1929 to completely cut off the channels of foreign capital to China, the United States, England, and Germany, through which--with the aid of the far-flung network throughout Mongolia--the lion's share of the material goods produced on the country's peasant livestock farms was flowing away.

New branches of the state and basically socialist economy were formed in the country, branches which had been completely absent before the revolution: trade, industry, transport and communications.

Once again it is impossible not to note the decisive role played by Soviet technical-economic aid in building the MPR's new socialist economy. What is involved is that all the new branches of Mongolia's economy were based on the principle of joint-stock enterprise with the Soviet Union. The real pioneers of these new branches were the trade and credit institution the Bank of Mongolia (Mongolbank), the Mongolian Transport Enterprise (Mongoltrans), and later the Ulaanbaatar railroad, the joint Soviet-Mongolian Oil Enterprise (Sovmongolneft) and the joint Soviet-Mongolian Metallurgical Enterprise (Sovmongolmetall), the joint Soviet-Mongolian Industrial Construction Organization (Sovmongolpromstry), and others. This clearly testifies that, under the MPR's specific conditions, the joint Mongolian-Soviet enterprises and organizations were one of the forms of establishing socialist ownership of the basic means of production.

New branches of the social infrastructure were formed at the same time: a public health-care service, education, culture, and arts. Revolutionary transformations in the sphere of ideology and culture were begun and a new people's intelligentsia emerged.

By 1940 the democratic stage of the people's revolution had been basically completed in the MPR. Under the difficult conditions of the 1920s and 1930s, the party was able to organize the utter defeat of internal enemy forces, to mobilize the working people to repel the external force and, in spite of all the ordeals which had befallen the country, to achieve great success in the sphere of economic and cultural construction. During this period the MPRP grew ideologically, strengthened itself organizationally and was able to become in action the core of the workers class' leadership of the working masses.

The people's state system was strengthened. The class structure of society changed profoundly. The class of the feudal lords was completely and definitively liquidated. As a result of the consistent class policy of the party and state with regard to the various strata of the peasantry, the middle peasants began to play a central role in the life of the Mongolian village. A national workers' class came into being, which was conceived by and gathered strength in its joint work and training with Soviet workers. The purposeful policy of the party led to the formation of an alliance between the workers' class and the working peasantry and to the consolidation of the political basis of the people's democratic system.

As a result of the completion of the democratic stage of the revolution, the Mongolian economy consisted of a socialist structure and a small-scale commodity production system, that is, it became bistructural. As pointed out in the Central Committee's accountability report to the 10th Party Congress (1940), "now one can already confidently say that we have firmly embarked on the path of noncapitalist development." However, this did not mean, of course, that the country had already completed the noncapitalist path. The fact is that the peasant small-scale commodity production economy still predominated in the main branch of the economy, livestock breeding, and that the individual peasant dominated the class structure of society. Meanwhile, small-scale commodity production is the basis of capitalism but not of socialism. The party and the people's democratic state were called upon to play a huge role in transforming this kind of production.

As is well known, revolutionary changes in the economic basis of society necessitate perfection of the superstructure that serves it and that has an ever-increasing reciprocal effect on it.

As a result of the historic victories of the Mongolian people, won under MPRP leadership, the commanding key positions of MPR economy passed to the hands of the people's state. The revolutionary-democratic state of the working people gradually developed into a state of the dictatorship of the workers class, into a state of new type, acting as the main instrument for building socialism.

By the beginning of the 1940s, material prerequisites had formed in the country and social forces had appeared which were necessary to directly carry out socialist transformations. The period began in which the democratic revolutionary gradually became socialist, and democratic transformations grew into socialist ones.

The main tasks of implementing the general party line in developing the country during the socialist stage of the revolution were defined in the MPRP program adopted at its 10th Congress.

For socialism to triumph, it must have the material-technical basis appropriate to it. This dictated the need to organize mechanized production in key branches of the economy, that is, to industrialize the country. During that period the development of the new branches of the economy, industry, transport and communications was further accelerated on a modern technical basis. A new branch of the village economy, highly mechanized land cultivation, was developed with the technical-economic aid of the USSR. The country was transformed from a purely livestock-breeding one into an agrarian-industrial country. This was a major revolutionary step in overcoming Mongolia's many centuries of backwardness.

The most complicated socialist transformation turned out to be organizing peasant livestock farms into cooperatives on a voluntary basis. A principled position was put forward at the 12th MPRP Congress, which stated that "being part of the system of socialist states, our country will be able to place agriculture on a technical basis and to achieve a gradual socialist transformation of agriculture, by leaning on the aid of the powerful industrial Soviet Union and on economic cooperation with the countries of people's democracy."

Creatively applying Lenin's teaching to Mongolia's conditions, the party and the state consistently carried out necessary measures that led in the end to organizing individual peasant farms into production cooperatives. As a result, even before organization of cooperatives was complete, natural farms were changing into small-scale commodity farms; and the process of forming cooperatives was carried out in the sphere of circulation of goods before socialization in the production sphere.

Following the very beginning of the socialization process in the production sphere, peasant associations traversed the entire path from a lower (a type of comradeship in joint land cultivation) to a higher form of their development, growing into agricultural associations of the modern type. However, this process was far from simple. Attempts to run on ahead, for example, which is what the leftist elements in the party and the state apparatus did at the beginning of the 1930s, caused a considerable amount of damage. Under the externally very revolutionary slogan "hurry up after the Soviet Union," they tried to accelerate the organization of peasant livestock farms into cooperatives by coercive measures, which in fact not only did not accelerate this process, but, on the contrary, slowed it down for a considerable length of time.

Only after ensuring careful preparation did the 13th MPRP Congress (1958) outline the task of developing the movement of the peasantry for the socialist transformation of agriculture. This task was successfully fulfilled. By the end of 1959, 185,000 of the country's 186,000 farms had been organized into cooperatives.

It should be emphasized that the process of industrialization had developed within certain limits even before the process of cooperative organization in the village had begun. This not only contributed to the formation of industry as a new branch of the national economy, but at the same time also signified the formation of the workers' class and helped this class fulfill the role of the advanced detachment of the working people in their struggle for the victory of socialism. During these years, the cultural revolution was also taking place, which had the tasks of achieving general literacy, disseminating scientific knowledge among the working people and ensuring the progressive development of culture--national in form and socialist in content.

The socialist stage of transition from archaic, precapitalist production and other social relations was basically completed in the sixties. The triumph of socialist production relations in all branches of the economy was ensured by completion of the process of organizing individual peasant farms into cooperatives.

However, it must be taken into account that forming the material-technical basis of socialism in previously backward countries represents a comparatively long process with many stages. Consequently, whereas forming the material-technical base of a new society is carried out within the framework of the transitional period in countries which have achieved the transition to socialism from capitalism, resolving this problem is more complicated under conditions to which countries are making this transition from precapitalist relations and can extend beyond the limits of the immediate transitional period.

The MPRP took this special historical characteristic of the country's socialist development into account, the main substance of which, as it is pointed out in the fourth MPRP program, consists of completing the building of the material-technical base of socialism and of transforming the country from an agrarian-industrial country to an industrial-agrarian one.

During the course of building the material-technical base of socialism in the MPR, which is a component part of the world socialist system, the experience and fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and of the other CEMA member-countries are widely used. This makes it possible for us successfully to fulfill the most complex tasks which emanate from the five-year plans for the country's economical and social development. We rejoice over the results. During the 1960-1980 period, for example, the gross social product of the MPR trebled, and the realized national income increased by 2.4 times; the basic funds of the national economy increased by six times. The average number of workers and employees in the national economy increased by 2.2 times during that period.

At one time, substantiating their actions in sharply curtailing economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, some PRC "theoreticians" advanced the concept of forming self-sufficient national economies and of relying on the country's own forces. What can be said in this connection?

Of course, it is impossible to deny that all socialist countries must make maximum use of their internal potentials, and their own forces and resources. But the whole practice of social development convincingly proves that these potentials can be put into action to the greatest degree if each of these countries consistently uses the advantages of socialism as a world system and participates in the socialist division of labor.

Under conditions of socialist economic integration, this division of labor makes it possible to build a really effective structure of the national economy both in each individual country and in the socialist community as a whole.

As a result, there is no need to build a complete all-round structure of industry and of branches of industrial production in each individual country since the other socialist states guarantee any individual country concerned a supply of those means of production and even of these consumer goods that it does not produce itself.

In the MPR, for example, not only individual projects but also whole industrial centers are now being built with the aid of the USSR and other fraternal countries. So, the cities of Darhan and Erdenet, in which 5.8 percent of the population is concentrated, now provide approximately one-quarter of the country's industrial products, and Erdenet alone provides approximately one-third of all the MPR's export products.

This year is marked by the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of the MPR. On a historical scale this is an insignificant period of time, covering the life of only one generation. But during this time our country has traversed

a path really equal to millenia. It has completed the transition from feudalism to socialism, bypassing a whole era, and even two eras in a certain sense. The transformation of a once-backward, feudal and even in many respects, prefeudal Mongolia into a dynamically developing socialist state with an up-to-date economic comprising many branches, a flourishing culture and growing welfare of the population--this is the main result of the party's activity and the selfless labor of the Mongolian people.

During the last 40 years or so, industrial production output has increased by more than 30 times. Today industry accounts for 43 percent of the total gross social product of the MPR. Its branches provide 74 percent of the national economy's total production. Data on production of meat, wool, wheat, electrical energy, and solid fuel per capita of our country's population, an extraction of some types of mineral raw materials and nonferrous metals, and also on the number of schoolchildren, students, doctors, and other specialists per 10,000 of the population, indisputably testifies to the fact that, in a whole series of the most important indicators of economic and cultural growth, the MPR is now overtaking many Asian countries, and not only Asian ones. Real socialism thereby convincingly demonstrates its advantages also on ancient Mongolian soil, as the 18th MPRP Congress (1981) stated.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the tasks of national and social liberation of the Mongolian people could be successfully fulfilled only in close alliance with solidarity of the international workers' movement, including primarily the proletariat of the Soviet land, which was the first in the history of the world to carry out a victorious socialist revolution. It is this that represents the basic law of the noncapitalist development of Mongolia, the country that is making its transition to socialism from a society in which the pre-capitalist relations were dominant. When, at the premonopolistic stage of development of capitalism, the question was raised of how other peoples under the conditions of a general capitalist encirclement could make their transition to socialism, F. Engels answered by pointing out that on this account it is only possible to make idle hypotheses (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 35, p 298). The subsequent development brought an answer to this vital question which now concerns not only millions but even billions of people. The answer is as laconic and strict as a mathematical formula: "In alliance with the victorious proletariat."

The land of the soviets, where the proletariat took the power into its own hands for the first time in history, has played a decisive role in ousting foreign capital from and building the new socialist economy in Mongolia. It is perfectly clear that if the Soviet Union did not protect our country from the military intervention and economic expansion of imperialism, there could be no talk at all about contemporary Mongolia as a sovereign and flourishing socialist state.

Thus, the alliance with the victorious proletariat and the world of socialism, the reliance on its assistance, and the utilization of its experience represent one of the laws of noncapitalist development. The experience of the countries that have embarked on the path of socialist orientation in recent decades also confirms the objective nature of this law with a new force.

Of course, the situation in the Asian and African countries which have embarked on the path of socialist orientation in recent decades also confirms the objective nature of this law with a new force.

Of course, the situation in the Asian and African countries which have embarked on the path of noncapitalist development is noticeably different from the conditions that existed historically in the MPR. They are geographically removed from the world socialist system. In a number of cases, the Marxist-Leninist parties are barely at the formative stage. The foundations of independent national economies are only just being laid and the influence of imperialism and of the remnants of the colonial era continues to be very tangible.

Nevertheless, a striving that is imperiously forging a path for itself, that is the striving of an ever greater number of young national states to achieve real independence, tear themselves away from capitalism, and embark on a development path of socialist orientation, is by no means purely the result of subjective factors and the fruit of the progressive views of some leaders or others in these countries. The striving to build a socialist future primarily reflects the trend, emphasized by Lenin in "An Initial Outline of These on National and Colonial Problems," to form a common, world-wide economy as a whole, which in general aspects would be regulated by the proletariat of all nations ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 164). The vital necessity of the noncapitalist path for developing countries is also revealed in this objectively existing trend, which exerts an ever-increasing influence on the course of world development. What is involved is the fact that overcoming economic backwardness, and achieving economic and cultural equality with the industrially developed states is, as hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are already convinced, simply impossible for their countries under the conditions of continued imperialist dependence, since these very conditions constantly reproduce (and in backward countries in particularly ugly forms) the imminent laws of capitalism--exploitation of the working people, oppression of weak peoples, poverty and suffering of the masses, and increasingly uneven development.

One frequently has to contend with attempts of imperialist and social-reformist ideologists to substantiate the need of developing countries moving along the path toward capitalism by invoking to the revolutionary role the bourgeoisie is called upon to play in the struggle against precapitalist vestiges. In this connection, even the corresponding premise from the immortal "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels is used as an argument. However, these attempts do not stand up to any criticism.

It is a secret to no one that the question in the "Manifesto" was one of a completely different bourgeoisie, one that operated under qualitatively different conditions and, what is more, still retained some kind of revolutionary potentials and that was breaking obsolete production and other relations of feudal society. As regards the bourgeoisie that is only just forming and the growing national bourgeoisie in a number of developing countries, this bourgeoisie, as all the experience of the past 2 or 3 decades has shown, is naturally capable of playing a significant role in the national-liberation

struggle and can help the development of the economy in its country to a certain degree and within a very limited framework. But the main thing is that the bourgeoisie, as the same experience of social development shows, is primarily an obsolescent class, in the process of leaving the arena of world history. All its activity is directed not so much forward as backward, and it is interested most of all in putting the brake on social progress, and in conserving social relations. That is why it would be extremely dangerous for the future of peoples in developing countries to entrust their fate to this flaccid and cowardly, historically doomed force, which is interested only in achieving its petty, selfish aims.

Now it is no longer just theory, but also the richest practice of social development which proves that the problems of liquidating backwardness in the countries of Asia and Africa can realistically be solved only along the paths of noncapitalist development, of a decisive break with the international system of capitalist division of labor and of establishing fraternal cooperation with the natural and only reliable ally of the forces of national liberation--the world socialist community.

However complex and varied the picture of the contemporary national liberation movement may be, the basic trends of its development are of a clearly expressed nature. Again and again, they confirm the correctness of the Leninist tenets, which have been verified by life, that the anti-imperialist trend of this movement would intensify, the struggle against exploitation relations would deepen and the ties between liberated states and the countries of the victorious proletariat would grow stronger. The particular feature of the present stage of the national liberation movement is the fact that the struggle for national liberation is merging more and more with the struggle for social reconstruction. The striving to implement radical socioeconomic transformations can be observed more and more clearly in liberated countries. This is testified to by the fact that, having won their national independence, an ever-greater number of countries are embarking upon a path of socialist orientation.

The internationalist policy of the socialist countries during the postwar period has more than once played a decisive role in rebuffing imperialist importunities, and has helped the peoples of liberated countries to stop aggression, and to paralyze and doom the adventures of the colonizers who encroached upon their freedom and independence.

Firmly and steadfastly fulfilling their international duty, the socialist countries and primarily the USSR extended their comprehensive support to the Vietnamese people at every stage of their heroic struggle for the liberation of their homeland, and, thanks to this support, the Vietnamese people successfully repelled the aggression of the largest and strongest imperialist power. The aid from the socialist community also opened a new era in the lives of the people of Laos, who have embarked upon the path of building the foundations of socialism, and it contributed to the victory of the people of Kampuchea who have thrown off the yoke of bloody puppets.

The socialist countries also gave comprehensive aid to independent Angola, in the dark days when South African racists together with their accomplices

tried to undermine the sovereignty of the young republic and to force a neo-colonialist regime upon it. The socialist countries acted and continued to act just as resolutely on the side of revolutionary Ethiopia, which is subjected to flagrant pressure from pro-imperialist circles in its neighboring countries.

In Central America too imperialism has not avoided defeats. The revolution in Nicaragua put an end to the bloody dictatorship of the Somoza family, which had been imposed upon the country by American imperialists for several decades, and the people of Nicaragua began to carry out plans to build a new life. Fresh evidence of the steady rise of the revolutionary movement in Latin America is the heroic liberation struggle of the patriotic forces of El Salvador, Guatemala and a series of other countries. The bandit-like U.S. invasion of Grenada, the "victory" won by imperialism over the island's population of 110,000, cannot hold back this struggle.

Imperialism has been squeezed recently not only in the political sphere but also the economic one.

The hopes of monopolistic capital that it would be possible to successfully reduce the process of liquidating colonial domination to superficial changes of a political nature, while leaving the system and mechanism, for economically exploiting the former colonial countries intact, were unjustified. Since the middle of the past decade, these countries have more than once resorted to active collective actions, imperiously placing the question of the new international economic system on the agenda.

All these positive changes have been made possible as a result of the radical change in the correlation of forces on the international scene to the advantage of peace, democracy and socialism and as a result of that principled and constructive policy that the Soviet Union and the world socialist community are steadfastly implementing. Defending what is most dear to all people on earth, peace and life, the foreign policy of socialism has placed itself from the very beginning in the service of the interests of all the oppressed and exploited. "...Bolshevism," Lenin used to say, "will build completely different international relations which will enable all oppressed nationalities to deliver themselves from the imperialist oppression" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 42, p 107).

Recently the world situation has sharply deteriorated. This deterioration has been caused by an increased aggressiveness of the most reactionary forces headed by U. S. imperialism and by their attempts to turn back the course of history. What is needed in the present conditions more than ever before is a strengthening of international solidarity, a close cooperation of communist and workers' parties as well as of all progressive forces in the struggle to preserve peace, restrain the arms race and to work against the adventurist policies of the imperialist circles.

The 28 September 1983 statement by Yu. V. Andropov has evoked a wide response throughout the world, the statement in which it was noted: "All people and every individual inhabitant of the world must realize the threatening danger. They must realize it in order to unite their efforts in the struggle for their own existence."

Mankind has not lost and cannot lose its reason. This is demonstrated with all force also by the widespread antimissile and antiwar movement which has developed in Europe and in other continents, the movement in which the people of various social, political, and religious affiliations participate.

All those who are raising their voices today against the senseless arms race and for defense of peace can rest assured that the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is aimed precisely at achieving these goals.

There is now no more pressing task than the task of protecting peace on earth. Peace is necessary to ensure work in tranquility, to improve the life of hundreds of millions of people, to ensure the triumph of social justice and progress, and to create the most favorable conditions for mankind's transition to socialism and communism.

Substantiating the possibility of transition of backward countries and peoples to socialism from precapitalist structures through a number of intermediate steps, Lenin built no illusions and in no way underestimated the entire complex nature of this process. On the contrary, he firmly and even frequently warned: "Much work will be required, inevitable mistakes will be made, and many difficulties will be encountered on that path" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 234).

None of the loyal pupils of Lenin and of the followers of his great cause, including the founders of the MPRP and the MPR, have chosen well-trodden and easy paths. Communists, as trailblazers and fighters against all oppression and obscurantism and against centuries-old backwardness and social rot, always have had and always will have it difficult. They neither wait for nor want an easy fate for themselves. Their fate will continue to be difficult as long as the desperate resistance of the forces of imperialism and reaction is not finally and definitely broken, as long as peace on earth is not saved and safeguarded forever and as long, as a result of the revolutionary creative activity of the working masses, the society is not created that will not need any political leadership, that is, the society of full communism, the idea, goal, and meaning of the life and noble activity of all Marxist-Leninists of the world.

And the stronger the alliance of the revolutionary-liberation forces with the triumphant proletariat and the world socialism is today and the more active and broad the cooperation of all detachments of the world revolutionary movement, the more successful will be their offensive against their main and common opponent, international imperialism, and the sooner will the forces representing social progress and mankind's tomorrow achieve their complete and final victory.

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CSO: 1802/9

THE LIBERATED COUNTRIES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1980S

AU090700 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 102-113

[Article by K. Brutents]

[Text]

1

Even in our time of sudden social change, liberated countries* stand out by their particularly intensive economic and sociopolitical changes. Meanwhile, at present, under conditions of antagonism between two world social systems and as a result of the collapse of colonial empires and of more than 25 years of independent development of formerly enslaved countries, the course of events in this sphere has acquired global significance and is increasingly effecting the correlation of world forces. These countries possess huge resources which, in many cases, are of not only national or regional but also worldwide significance; they play a growing role in world politics and world economy; they are passing through the transition period to a new social structure, and the processes taking place in these countries represent part of the formation of this structure. They are and for a long time will remain an undampened hotbed of anti-imperialist sentiments and actions.

Having liberated themselves from colonial domination and development independently, liberated countries and--on the basis of worldwide changes in the correlation of forces--developing countries also as a whole have entered international life as sovereign subjective entities. They have broadly and actively entered into mutual bilateral, regional and global economic and political relations. At the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Yu. V. Andropov called the growing role of the Asian and African countries that have wrested themselves from colonial and semicolonial dependence "one of the fundamental features of the contemporary world."

* As can be seen from the title, the article is about the Asian, African and Central American countries that became independent with the liquidation of colonial or semicolonial regimes. At the same time a broader approach is used in a number of areas, and the developing countries--that is, the Latin American states--are also considered. Although these states fundamentally differ from the Afro-Asian countries, they resemble them in many respects and frequently act with them in the international arena. Hence, the rightness, and even more, the need for this broader approach)

The emergence of liberated countries, as a more or less independent force in the world political sphere has basically meant the biggest shake-up, after the socialist states' emergence, in the international relations structure created by imperialism. Although the growth of influence of liberated and, on the whole, developing countries is not balanced politically and socially it is a fact that, if one talks of the "sum" effect of their participation in international affairs, they exert considerable pressure on imperialism. Despite the contradictory and inconsistent nature of the liberated countries' position and the differentiations among them, their position as a whole should be viewed as anti-imperialist and antineocolonialist and as one that helps to limit the influence of imperialism and to create the international conditions favorable to the struggle of progressive and democratic forces.

The growth of the developing countries' role in world affairs is a lasting and insuperable process, considering the political, economic, demographic* and geostrategic elements "working" within it. At the same time, as the practice of the postwar years and particularly of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s has shown, this process does not run evenly--now it accelerates, now it slows down, depending on the dynamics of both domestic and international factors. In the past decade, as a result of the improved international relations climate, this process made a certain qualitative leap. However, now its evolution is taking place under conditions of an aggravated world situation, growth of the hard "force" element's role in the policies of imperialist powers, and the appreciable effect of the developing countries' deteriorating economic position and sharply increased financial dependence on the West. In a situation of tension, it is more difficult for them to assert an independent course and to influence the resolution of international problems.

The liberated countries have entered the 1980s, having left behind them a decade that brought major political and socioeconomic changes that seriously influenced both their position in the world and the substance of the social development and liberation struggle within them. The importance of these changes lies in the fact that their analysis makes it possible to single out the basic tendencies that in the future will also formulate the course of events in these countries.

During the last decade, the near-completed liquidation of the colonial empires brought an entire historical period to the lives of the formerly enslaved countries--the period of anticolonial struggle. The proclaimed or achieved political independence of the young liberated states and of developing countries as a whole acquired more and more real substance. These states assumed ever more independent positions in their relations with the imperialist world and in vital questions of international politics.

* According to forecasts, by the year 2000 the population of India will exceed 1 billion, that of Indonesia will be 230 million, Brazil 210 million, and Mexico 130 million. Two-thirds of mankind now live in that part of the world, and it is precisely here that one can foresee the appearance of new, influential, or even great states.)

It was precisely in the 1970s that the struggle of the former enslaved countries for economic independence and equality acquired a qualitatively new nature and scope, and extended beyond the boundaries of individual countries and emerged in the world arena, revealing--in the form of its demand for a new international economic system--its deep meaning as a denial of imperialist relations of exploitation. The Marxist-Leninist thesis that a new stage of the struggle--at the center of which lies the problem of economic independence--would be begun by the enslaved countries gaining political independence, was thereby once again given weighty confirmation.

A most important result of the past decade was also the fact that, in the area and during the course of this struggle, a significant section of the public in the liberated countries clearly demonstrated and realized that their interests, expressed in the platform of the new international economic system, were opposed to the aspirations of imperialism. It was more broadly and deeply understood that imperialism intended persistently to pursue a course of blocking the efforts of former enslaved countries to build independent national economies and of continuing to rob these countries while being prepared to alter the forms and methods of this robbery.

The social content of the liberation movement of the Asian peoples continued to develop and be enriched.

This was manifested in the direction in which the struggle against U.S. intervention and neocolonialism in Indochina developed, and in the way it was concluded (the formation of a united socialist Vietnam, the victory of the people's democratic revolution in Laos, and the liquidation of the feudal-bourgeois monarchy in Kampuchea). This was manifested in the formation of new states of socialist orientation, in which representatives of revolutionary democracy and those drawn to Marxism-Leninism assumed power. This was manifested in the increased influence of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties and of other progressive organizations and movements in a number of countries.

But the 1970s also showed the difficulties and complexities of the progress of liberated countries. They developed not only along a line of ascent but also in contradictory ways. There were a considerable number of zigzags and retracings of steps. Some progressive regimes degenerated. In a number of countries the positions of patriotic, democratic groups were weakened, and in some cases, reactionary circles assumed power. It was demonstrated--and this is one of the key lessons of the past decade of the development of liberated countries--that in face of the enormous capitalist reserves there, too, as everywhere else, there can be no "guaranteed" or automatic revolutionary attitude. The transformation of the former colonial and semicolonial world is taking place in a sharp struggle among different social and political forces. And, naturally, this process ebbs and flows. Sometimes all kinds of scum, in the form of various reactionary ideas and trends, rises to the surface of its seething torrent.

The question is one of a process proceeding on an immense scale and in complex conditions, which comes up against huge obstacles that can be overcome

only by implementing social transformations on the basis of unfettered popular initiative. Together with the objective internal difficulties, the obstacles set in its way by imperialism also resist this process.

Finally, the 1970s demonstrated the moral-political "wear" and degeneration of a series of groups which had headed or had actively participated in the liberation movement in their countries at some stage or another. Some detachments of the anti-imperialist struggle in the Arab region, for example, began to experience serious difficulties. The growing reactionary nature of certain strata of the bourgeoisie, whose transient political youth had come to an end, made itself felt. It was confirmed by scores and scores of facts that the degree to which the class aspirations of some or other social and political groups correspond to national interests determine whether anti-imperialism is expressed longer and more clearly in the positions of these groups.

All these processes profoundly affected the liberated countries and in many ways determined their appearances at the beginning of the 1980s.

2

In the colonial period, the present liberated countries could still give an impression of some kind of uniformity while being isolated behind a wall of enslavement. But all of their diversity revealed itself with the destruction of this wall. This diversity noticeably intensified after their liberation, when the unevenness of their political, economic, and social development during the years of independence, and the unequal scope of the liberation movement were "superimposed" on the already existing historical specific features of these countries.

Indeed, the liberated countries differ from one another by their size and natural wealth, by the level of their socioeconomic development and "seniority" of the tradition of statehood, and by their political systems and social orientation. They include great India with its population of 700 million and more than 3 million square kilometers of territory, and one of the most minute states--the island of Nauru, which covers an area of less than 22 square kilometers and has a population of 9,000.

Then there is Kuwait, in whose depths are hidden 8.8 billion metric tons of oil, and where the per capita annual income is more than \$20,000. And there is Mali, a country which, for the present at least, has been almost completely done out of its share of raw material resources and which has a mere \$201 annual income per capita of the population.

There are Ethiopia, one of the world's ancient states, with 3,000 years of history behind it, and Papua New Guinea, whose state existence began only after the collapse of the colonial system.

Then there are countries where a sector of modern industry has been more or less formed, and where there exists fairly precise social demarcation. But there are also countries in tropical Africa, where the tribal relations are still the basis of the indigenous population's life.

There are semifeudal monarchies, bourgeois and bourgeois-parliamentary republics, and there are countries of a socialist orientation.

There is no doubt that this diversity will grow still further under the influence of uneven economic and social development, and of the revival and progress of national cultures. Careful consideration of the particular features of the individual countries and regions, and a more differentiated and concrete approach to them therefore acquire ever greater importance. The attention to this aspect of the matter as it has clearly appeared in scientific literature should only be welcomed.

Whereas the existence of anti-imperialist and antineocolonial trend generally characterized the liberated countries, the key role for progressive forces is played by a concrete path and a concrete form in which this tendency is specifically shown and can be stimulated.

However, does this mean that the general features of liberated countries, connected with their recent colonial and semicolonial past, have been devaluated or have even completely lost their significance? Of course not. The question is precisely about those particular features that primarily determine the specific nature of these countries in the ranks of states of the world, and their place in the sphere of international relations and in the structure of the struggle between two systems. It is considered that these countries:

Occupy a dependent and exploited position in the world capitalist economy and in the capitalist division of labor, and that they are tied to the imperialist states by unequal economic relations, which puts practical limitations on their political independence;

Come up against obstacles that stem from these limitations and keep them from enhancing their international role and participating fully in world affairs;

On the whole, do not fit in with the imperialist political system;

Serve as an object of neocolonial policies;

Lag behind in economic, scientific-technical and social respects, since their social forms and spiritual life bear deep traces of the period of enslavement, and their peoples still retain living and fresh memories of this period;

Passing through the transitional stage of overcoming precapitalist relations and of building new and--in the majority of cases--capitalist systems and also of the stage of forming nations and national institutions;

Show a strong national-liberation and antineocolonial trend in their social development;

And lastly, participate in the Nonaligned Movement or support its platform.*

This sum total of objective and very fundamental features common to liberated countries sets these countries off from imperialism in the 1980s too and, to a certain degree, despite the sociopolitical form of their regimes. These features play an important role in developing cooperative relations with the socialist world, in which they are virtually all interested although for different motives. The existence of these features also explains why even now, after a quarter of a century since the liquidation of the colonial yoke, a deep and undampened opposition to imperialism continues and is still central to the development of young states. Of course it is precisely this opposition, expressed through class and national interests and frequently also through regional interests, that serves as a prerequisite of their anti-imperialist position.

The community existing among the former enslaved countries is sufficiently clearly expressed in the positions they adopt on a number of major world problems in the United Nations and in other international organizations, and in the very existence of and in the course pursued by the institutions, such as the Group of 77 which now has 125 members.

The complexity of the problems facing liberated countries and the differentiating and common elements characterizing them were prominently shown during the course of the conference of the heads of states and governments of the nonaligned countries in Delhi, the anti-imperialist trend of the conference's work and documents is general acknowledged, and this, of course, is connected with the correlation of world forces, the position of the socialist states, and the activeness of the progressive member-states of the Nonaligned Movement. This result would have been impossible if the aforementioned common features of liberated and developing countries as a whole did not exist and have an effect.

The present position of the Asian and African countries reflects that historical moment when the conflict between the parent states, on the one hand, and the colonies, on the other, develops into a conflict between the imperialist powers (and the developed capitalist countries, generally, that are continuous to them) and the liberated countries (and also developing countries as a whole), pursuing various paths to overcome their economic backwardness and to liquidate vestiges of their enslavement period.

Despite all the differences among these paths, this group is objectively united by its common striving to stand up to imperialism and its neocolonialist strategy. It is primarily united by an influence that seems to come from without and as a consequence of economic exploitation by imperialism.

* Of course, these features are expressed to different degrees in different liberated countries. What is more, there are also countries of which some of these features are already most or completely uncharacteristic, which is natural, considering the process of change that former colonies and semi-colonies experience.

Imperialism's persistent attempts to ensure its control over the developing countries provide steady futile ground for the contradictions between these countries and the imperialist world and in the 1980s, one should probably expect an intensification of imperialism's feeble impulses under the influence of additional political, economic and military-strategic motives.

Together with the great importance of the liberated countries as sources of raw materials and multibillion profits* they play an ever greater role for the imperialist states as markets for industrial goods and also--in the case of oil-producing states--as a banker for their own kind. In 1981, 24 percent of the total column of exports from the developed capitalist states went to developing countries, including 37 percent of total U.S. exports, 18.8 percent of the Common Market countries' exports and 45 percent of Japan's exports.

It is well-known that some oil-producing countries--mainly Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar--have not only concentrated huge financial resources in their holdings, which are considerably important for the very stability of the capitalist currency system, but have also become large-scale investors in and creditors of the imperialist world, and, as a consequence, also the biggest renters. At the beginning of 1982, the OPEC members invested \$69.2 billion (19 percent) of their \$362.5 billion currency assets in the United States, and \$75 billion (21 percent) in England, and approximately \$139 billion (38 percent) in other developed capitalist states.

Relations with imperialism will also remain one of the central development problems for liberated countries in the future. They are assigned an ever greater place in global imperialist strategy, which regards these countries as a field for massive expansion of the capitalist system and for strengthening the positions of world capital. In this respect, the speech by American Secretary of State G. Shultz in Atlanta a year ago is indicative. Speaking profusely of the "vitally important significance" of the developing countries for the United States and the whole West, he unambiguously gave the impression that Washington sees those countries as its major reserve.

This approach is now passed on from one Washington administration to another, although there are differences and considerably important ones in the political course they pursue. The two poles of this course are a rigid subordination to broad anti-Soviet aims and more flexible tactics with a fundamentally bourgeois-reformist content oriented toward long-term tasks of supporting capitalist relations. An example of the former kind of policy is that of the Reagan administration.

The present U.S. leadership completely refuses to recognize any kind of independence and originality of the national liberation movement (especially at the contemporary, "postcolonial" stage), and passes it off as the result of

* In the 1976-1981 period, the sum of profit transfers and interest payments by developing countries to Western private corporations and banks was \$180 billion, compared to \$65 billion in the 1970-1975 period--that is, increased 2.7 times)

"undermining activity" by the Soviet Union. The Reagan "team" tries to present its course of struggle against the liberation movements and of imposing the will of the United States on the young states in the context of its worldwide anti-Soviet strategy.

According to its calculations, this approach promises it political and ideological advantages, makes it possible to broaden the front of its anti-Soviet and antisocialist campaign, ensures a convenient screen for Washington's neo-colonialist actions, and "frees the hands" of the United States with regard to countries with objectionable regimes. An example of this kind of tactic was the invasion of Grenada, carried out to the accompaniment of false propaganda about an imaginary transformation of that island into a Cuban-Soviet base.

Revising its system of achieving its aims in the developing countries, Washington is shifting the center of gravity in favor of military force. The United States thereby is also striving to wreck or slow down resolution of the most acute economic problems that divide the capitalist North and the "developing South."

There is no doubt that American imperialism also wishes to utilize its relations with the liberated countries and the developing countries as a whole in the interests of pursuing its policy "from a position of strength" in relation to the socialist states. In addition, having established or strengthened its control over the developing countries, the United States is striving to appropriate for itself the role of some kind of guarantor safeguarding both the raw materials requirements and the political interests of its NATO allies in these countries. It thus intends to gain stronger positions for dictating to its imperialist partners.

As far as broader plans are concerned, it has set itself the task, no more no less, of returning the liberated countries to the imperialist political system one way or another. As is well known, most of these countries slipped out of the imperialist system with the collapse of the colonial empires, and as a consequence of the general change in the world situation and of changes in the correlation of forces this process also altered the position of those developing countries that had not been colonies.

It would seem that, speaking of the contradictions between the liberated countries and imperialism, one must also bear the following elements in mind.

First. These contradictions are by no means static, but they also do not develop continuously and only along a line of exacerbation. They can appear in one or another period, and in less acute forms--in connection for example with concessions by the imperialist powers or with the striving of ruling circles in liberated countries for more or less a softer compromise position and even conciliation. Incidentally, this striving is frequently screened by anti-imperialist rhetoric, which is demagogic and socially protective in its meaning and calculated to deceive the masses.

At the same time the contradictions can, as is now happening, be aggravated in connection with problems that exceed the bounds of mutual relations between

the imperialist and liberated countries in the narrow sense--for example, because of imperialism's policy in questions of war and peace, the arms race, and so forth. The sharply critical attitude of the liberated countries toward Washington's policy, caused by its stand on international economic problems and decolonization problems, is now reinforced by a more and more clear understanding that their vital interests are compatible with the U.S. militarist course.

The fact that a revival of the "cold war" would extremely complicate or even make unthinkable a real solution to the problems of developing countries, to say nothing of the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict, is being more and more clearly realized.

Not so long ago in some circles in these countries, the opinion was widespread that problems of detente and disarmament supposedly mainly affect socialist and imperialist states. Now, in the 1980s, as the Delhi conference confirmed, the main and distinctive feature of the course pursued by the liberated countries is their active stand in these questions, which have become an important direction of their anti-imperialist policy.

Second. The objective contradiction between the liberated countries and imperialism is not automatically and inevitably evident in their political course. Although this contradiction influences the position of all the liberated countries in one way or another, its implementation and social "content" depend on the social orientation and the nature of the ruling regimes. This contradiction is most clearly expressed in the policies of the countries of socialist orientation, where it is given a fundamental anticapitalist coloring and is actively apparent across the entire front of relations with imperialist states. But it is also noticeable in states of capitalist orientation--primarily, of course, where bourgeois circles dominate--which favor independent development and are prepared to strive for it. In this respect, an ever greater role is played here in relation with the imperialist world by elements of intercapitalist conflicts, although these conflicts are of a particular kind, with strong neocolonialist aspects; they are between the bourgeoisie of developed and developing countries and between imperialist capital, which pursues a neocolonialist policy, and the mainly premonopolistic capital of the liberated countries. As Yu. V. Andropov emphasized at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the objective interests of these countries are also "contradicted by the aggressive policy of domination and diktat pursued by the imperialist powers."

Third. In the 1970s, the platform of contradictions between the liberated countries and imperialism changed, as did the correlation of economic and political factors within it. Some of the most acute problems of political confrontation connected, for example, with surviving remnants of the colonial empires and traditional colonialism, were "eliminated" as a result of victories of the national-liberation struggle (the exception being the problems of Namibia and southern Africa). But then the proportion of problems of economic relations increased. The imperialists possess fairly strong levers in this sphere and a considerable number of opportunities to maneuver, which fact they demonstrate in practice. At the same time, very serious factors in

aggravating the struggle between the imperialist states and the liberated countries, which stem from their vital interests, are in operation here.

The demands for a new international economic system, advanced in the 1970s,* were a particular massive economic "echo" of the political independence won by the former enslaved countries. One can expect further pressure from the liberated countries, including antagonism on the question of forming a new system of raw materials relations between them and the imperialist power since, in the past decade, the natural wealth of these countries was wrested to a considerable extent from the control of foreign corporations.

Thus, the structure of contemporary world relations and the political and economic interests as well as the neocolonialist policy of monopolies condition the profound and long-term nature of contradiction between the liberated countries and imperialism. A solid basis is thereby created ensuring that in the 1980s too these countries will continue to act as a weighty factor of anti-imperialist struggle in the world arena and that all nationally and patriotically attuned forces in the former colonies and semicolonies will act from anti-imperialist and antineocolonialist positions. The contradiction acts as a powerful motive force for social changes in these countries, for the rise of progressive movements and of the increase of social protest which, of course, is simultaneously and primarily determined by internal class conflicts.

As long as it does not reach the monopolistic stage, even the development of capitalist relations in the liberated countries does not nullify this position and does not directly contribute to consolidating the positions of imperialism. Of course, the formation of capitalism in several liberated countries and, even more, the achievement by these countries of a medium level of development in a certain sense makes the position of revolutionary movement there more difficult, sometimes inhibits prospects for a transition to the path of social progress, intensifies bourgeois tendencies and the bourgeois "atmosphere," and finally stimulates tendencies toward "equidistance." At the same time, this contributes to superimposing intercapitalist contradictions on national-liberation contradictions with the imperialist world; and, as has been already noted, these intercapitalist contradictions are characterized also by a national and anticolonial content and the strengthening of such states as India or--if we speak about developing

* Of course, the problem of a new international economic system is not straightforward in its social sense. To a considerable extent, this is a new direction of the struggle against imperialism. But, being a kind of sum total of the interests of various developing states ranging from bourgeois to revolutionary-democratic ones, its platform has been virtually "kneaded" to some extent on an above-class approach and consequently can also be used to formulate demands addressed to the socialist states. This is all the more true because the ruling circles in a number of developing countries use the new international economic system to detract attention from the domestic causes of economic difficulties and to rehabilitate their policy of rejection of socioeconomic transformations.

countries as a whole--of Mexico and Brazil, adds a multipolar character to the capitalist world and creates within it an additional counterweight to U.S. policy.

The main result of developments in liberated countries in recent years amounts to the fact that imperialism has failed to achieve the desired "stability" in that sphere, to restore a firm system of control over them, to dilute anti-imperialist feelings, and to direct political life in the former colonies and semicolonies into a channel which would be more or less acceptable to it. At the same time, changes in the aggregate of the problems around which confrontation between liberated and imperialist states is centered, and the growing effect of the social orientation of the former enslaved countries and--under conditions of crystallization of their orientation--of their frequently capitalist development on the progress of this confrontation, will obviously lead to this confrontation's following a more complex path during the current decade.

In any event, as the 1970s have confirmed and as it has become obvious at the beginning of the 1980s, the liberated countries will continue to be the hot-bed of struggle of imperialism, even though they may be tied with thousands of economic, political, financial, and trade strings to the capitalist world and depend on it.

3

The conclusion--in the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s--of an entire era of anticolonial movements in the former enslaved countries and the great political, economic as well as social changes make it legitimate to raise the question of the nature and substance of the process taking place there.*

What is primarily involved is the question as to what are the basic political and socioeconomic problems at this stage of the social development of liberated countries and what are the slogans used by their progressive and patriotic circles in their actions.

Following the achievement of independence, the progressive forces put forward a democratic program of transformation that accorded with the new conditions of development. Let us recall that this program envisaged:

Strengthening political independence;

Establishing sovereignty over economic and natural resources and liquidating the dominating influence of imperialist monopolies in the economy;

Concentrating in the state sector the commanding heights of the economy and the guiding influence of imperialist monopolies in the economy;

* It is primarily the countries of the capitalist road that are considered here.

Increasing the production forces on the basis of plans;

Liquidating feudal and prefeudal relations, solving the agrarian problem, and promoting the cooperative movement in villages;

Organizing a new state apparatus;

Stimulating the process of forming the nation and setting up and consolidating national state institutions;

Significantly raising the people's standard of living;

Transformations in the political and spiritual spheres leading to delivery from the patriarchal-feudal and colonial vestiges and to a democratization of social life; and

An active anti-imperialist foreign policy.

It cannot be said that now, at the beginning of the 1980s, this program (with inevitable corrections according to conditions in various countries) has been overtaken by life. On the contrary, its basic substance has fully retained its current validity even though some modifications have been made. Thus, today, in most of the cases involved in this connection, the question is not so much that of establishing national sovereignty over the economy and natural resources* as it is a question of realistically implementing this sovereignty by wisely exploiting these resources for national interests on the basis of the cadres and technical experience of the country involved. Furthermore, conditionally speaking, the external aspects of the struggle against the dominance of imperialist monopolies and for international economic relations on the basis of equality has been moved to the forefront.

Today, what is involved is less a matter of expanding the state sector than of placing it in the service of all-national and all-people's interests and of wresting it from the hands of oligarchic and bourgeois-bureaucratic groups that are using this sector for their own enrichment and discrediting it.

As to state institutions, it is also true that they must be liberated not as much from the mortal grip of the fragments of colonial administration as from the mortal grip of the corrupted bourgeois-bureaucratic forces. And what is even more, the tasks of the struggle against the parasitic bourgeoisie, which frequently turns into a real threat to national renaissance and social progress, have been set and are assuming an increasing significance in all spheres--that is, in the state sector, the state institutions, and even in the private enterprise sector.

* According to data released by the UN Commission on multinational companies, in the period 1960-76, 1,447 nationalization acts were carried out in various branches of the economies of developing countries; and 979 of these were implemented in the 1970s alone.

In regard to the agrarian question, the main emphasis--which is growing stronger and has placed itself in the service of the state--already frequently is not so much on liquidating the precapitalist relations and on allotting land to indigent peasants as it is on limiting the exploitative appetites of the bourgeoisie--and on eliminating vestiges of the traditional forms of enslavement of village working people. Similar illustrations can also be cited as regards other points of the general democratic program.

There is another task which, however, has already occupied a central place previously and which is now assuming increasingly greater insignificance. It is the task of democratizing social life in its various aspects, both in the sense of considering the people's interests in determining the main directions of policy and in adopting the basic economic decisions, as well as in the sphere of emancipating the activity of the masses and providing real opportunities for them to consciously and through their own organizations contribute to controlling the economic activities to the country's policy by supporting progressive measures. It is possible to say without exaggeration that, even in the face of the importance of other external and internal aspects, the problem of achieving political stability in the liberated countries and the very prospects for successful opposition to neocolonialism and for overcoming the enormous economic difficulties are directly centered around this task.

The question of raising the standard of living of the masses which has assumed a burning poignancy both in its economic (especially in regard to the expansion of national market) and its sociopolitical aspects, is closely interdependent with the democratization process, even though it is not manifested in an active form, the deep discontent of the population because of its frequently deteriorating material position--which is particularly painfully felt against the background of the flaunted and, for the ordinary man, offensive and impudent luxury of the privileged classes--is the fundamental cause of increased political instability. And this is happening at a time when nationalist intoxication, engendered by the victory of independence, has already evaporated to a considerable extent and when the faith in the promises of the leaders replacing one another over a considerably long period has been exhausted in many respects.

Thus, the general democratic program--in which, however, together with social tasks, it is the national liberation tasks that are given a primary position both as an integral part and as one of the motive forces for its realization--corresponds to the ripe paramount demands of social development of the liberated countries also at the beginning of the 1980s. Of course, this applies in different measure to different countries (and to the position of different social forces) because there are countries which have solved the national tasks to a greater extent, and therefore the weight of these tasks within the overall aggregate of problems of the struggle is essentially smaller. The manifestation of the national-liberation anti-imperialist factor also depends on some other factors.

These are the basic elements which make it possible to show where to begin to understand the social processes in the liberated countries at this stage.

In this regard it is scarcely possible to consider as substantiated the approach encountered in some scientific publications that seems to ignore the great changes that have taken place in the liberated countries and continues to discuss the national liberation movement as such. The insufficiency of such an approach is obvious in light of the real position of these countries (both internationally and domestically) which has developed during the years of their independence. One should think that today it is no longer legitimate to speak about the struggle of the Asian and African peoples only or mainly as a national liberation struggle. Its substance can no longer be placed within such boundaries. And in this regard we set aside the terminological aspects of the question together with their great political and international significance.

On the other hand, it is impossible not to consider as one-sided the approach which considers the issues essentially and wholly from the viewpoint of the level of development of the liberated countries or, more precisely, the level of development of capitalism in them. For instance, the medium or low levels of development of capitalism are discussed by seemingly placing the distinctive characteristics of these countries within parentheses [za skobki] (in comparison with the "ordinary" capitalist countries of a similar level). These distinctive characteristics are connected with their recent colonial and semicolonial past, with the resulting specific features of their economies, social structures, and spiritual atmosphere and with their resulting position in the world capitalist economy and in the sphere of antagonism between the two world social systems.

It goes without saying that the extent and level of development of capitalist relations has been, under the present conditions, quite an essential characteristic of the liberated countries. However, this fact naturally should not lead to disregarding the specific post-colonial characteristics which in many respects determine the anti-imperialist potential of these countries, their policy on the international scene, and the positions of some or other social forces within that internal class antagonism, which has already turned into a pivot of development in the former colonies and semicolonies. It would be wrong to note the remarkable achievements of the liberation struggle and of the socioeconomic changes, including the changes of a capitalist nature, and consequently to underestimate the factor of uncompleted national liberation tasks and, in many young states, also the factor of the uncompleted formation of their nations and national institutions.

It must be particularly emphasized that speaking about the liberation countries only as countries at one or another level of development of capitalism would virtually mean "not recognizing" their specific problems, their economic dependence and their nonentry in the political system of imperialism, which still boldly distinguish them from the "ordinary" capitalist states.

It is natural that, together with social tasks, the national liberation tasks have a major place in the general democratic program. For the political goals have not been yet completely fulfilled: the goals of providing real substance to political sovereignty and of completely realizing this sovereignty on the international scene. And such tasks (connected, it should be

said, with overcoming backwardness) as those of achieving economic independence, eliminating dependence on the imperialist monopolies, and establishing equal economic relations with the capitalist states have not been fulfilled at all. Yet, these tasks are the very nucleus of the problem of national liberation under contemporary conditions and, similar to political questions, they can serve as a catalyst and basis for the national liberation struggle, and, the more so, for nationalist feelings and trends.

And finally, it must be taken into consideration that the revival of the neo-colonialist actions of imperialism, the expansion and militarist pressures, particularly in the Arab region, and the emphasis on brute force are for their party leading to a revival and intensification of the national factor and of the corresponding aspect of the struggle. All this brings about the sharp urgency and vitality which the national element, with all of its positive and negative aspects* and in the field of political, ideological, and psychological repercussions. Hence, a correct appraisal of the meaning of this element, especially in its anti-imperialist and antineocolonialist manifestation, is of principled importance. Any other approach would also indicate an underestimation of the role of neocolonialism and of its nature, not only as a form of social but also of national oppression. This, stated one or another way, also applies to the most capitalistically developed liberated countries.

In recent years, the great urgency of national liberation problems and their anti-imperialist and antineocolonialist effects in the former colonies and dependent countries have been convincingly demonstrated by the example of the Iranian and Ethiopian revolutions. The Iranian example once again demonstrated the irrepressibility and acuteness of the national question and the possibility for national liberation anti-imperialist revolutions even in the countries where formally independent national states have existed for a long time. At the same time, it became evident how closely the national liberation tasks are connected to social tasks. In addition to that, the Ethiopian revolution also confirmed that, on the basis of these problems, the liberation movement can be given a political "acceleration" which will lead it to the path of socially progressive orientation.

At the same time, it is important to have a clear picture of the existing correlation between national liberation and social problems and to see the main direction within which the axis of the social life of these countries moves and will continue to move, the longer the better. The correlation between the national and social elements is changing to the advantage of the latter, and the role of social aspects, both as the goal and as the main-spring of social development, is growing.

For some time already, Soviet scientists and foreign Marxists have been noting in their works with good reason that the class elements have been considerably intensified in the liberation movement and in the whole of social development of Asian and African countries. However, it would be wrong in

* For instance, as ground for the reactionary nationalist feelings and national narrowmindedness.

this concern to regard the national and class elements in opposition to one another and present the issue as though the intensification of the class element is simply taking place at the price of weakening the national element. Such a "hierarchical" approach would lead us astray. What is involved in reality is something else: The correlation and mutual links between the class and national elements have changed. Previously--that is, until the formation of national states in the territories of former colonies--the solution of the principled aspect of the national problem--that is, achieving independence--was a prerequisite for clearing the field for the class struggle and for its development, so to speak, on "one's own" ground. But now, the very solution of uncompleted national liberation tasks, directly and increasingly more often turns on social class factors and the class struggle.

Enumerating the current tasks in the social development of liberated countries, it can be stated that their substance is basically and generally democratic.

At the same time, there are such tasks which scarcely can be fulfilled completely and totally by a bourgeois or bourgeois-democratic power. What is needed for that purpose is a more radical power aimed at socialism or, considering the present conditions in many liberated countries, a socialist orientation.

Thus, the social tasks which have moved to the forefront and their key role in the entire process of social development, the continued importance of national tasks and the basically democratic essence of the socioeconomic transformations on the current agenda represent the historical stage of development which is now characteristic of a majority of Asian and African countries.

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CSO: 1802/9

SECONDARY METAL SERVICE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 114-117

[Letter to the editors by L. Zhizmor, director of the Vtorchermet Chelyabinsk Oblast Production Association]

[Text] The Chelyabinsk Oblast Vtorchermet Production Association is one of the largest in the system for the procurement and processing of ferrous metal scrap and waste. Ever since its founding 12 years ago, its collective has been overfulfilling its production assignments for basic technical and economic indicators. The association was awarded the Honor Badge Order for successful work during the 10th Five-Year Plan and is achieving good results during the 11th as well. The association was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for its 1982 results.

These successes were achieved thanks to the steady and comprehensive help of the party and soviet organizations. All Vtorchermet initiatives are actively supported by the public in Chelyabinsk Oblast which accounts for one-sixth of all the steel smelted in the country.

The technical retooling of the production process was completed during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Marketable output and labor productivity in the association increased by a factor of 2.5. Our use of scrap processing equipment has reached a rather high level. We are continuing to install many types of new equipment used at other Vtorchermet enterprises. We have installed advanced scrap processing equipment. The enterprise uses plasmatrons and computers.

Currently, together with the special design office forhydraulic pulse equipment of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, we are developing a hydropneumatic system for processing cast iron scrap in bulk. The experience of our party, Komsomol and trade union organizations and the management's guidance of education work were approved by the Chelyabinsk city party committee. Before reaching this point, however, a great deal else had to be accomplished. We began by making attractive the work itself at the enterprise. We were able to mechanize the heavy manual operations in almost all parts of the technological process. Great efforts were made to landscape the territory of the enterprise. We were thus able to prove that the Vtorchermet Association is not necessarily a dump for rusty iron. Squares and flower beds

with fountains were set up wherever possible. All passageways at the plant are paved.

A great deal was accomplished in the social area. To begin with, we put an end to the huts which accounted for most of the housing. We are building our own housing facilities. Currently, for instance, a nine-story house with 140 apartments is under construction. Such construction with our own forces is difficult but rewarding. There are no waiting lines for our children's preschool establishments and our kindergarten with swimming pool is one of the best in Chelyabinsk. The association's workers have at their disposal two rest bases which are used as resting homes in the summer. We also have sports facilities, such as a stadium, physical culture hall and shooting gallery.

The working people approved of the vegetable storage facility which was built on the initiative of the trade union organization. Currently such storages are being constructed in many enterprises in Chelyabinsk Oblast.

Concern for improving the working and living conditions of our workers is combined with purposeful educational activities conducted jointly by the economic management and the party and trade union organizations. It is helped by the various steps taken in the association. Labor discipline is strengthened by our regulation according to which the annual bonus, the so-called 13th wage is based on the behavior of the members of the brigade at work and in public. As a result, over the past 10 years absenteeism declined by a factor of 8 and the number of working days missed, by a factor of over 20. The prestigiousness of working for our enterprise and the responsibility of everyone for their own projects and the common cause increased.

In the course of more than 60 years of existence the Vtorchermet system has become a powerful production ferrous metallurgy subsector. However, the very basis of its work is the procurement of scrap metal, the procurement and treatment of which fill the furnaces. That is why the personnel of the Chelyabinsk association consider their role not only as one of ensuring the fulfillment of the plan for scrap metal deliveries by all enterprises and scrap procurers but also of identifying any new resources usable in metallurgical production. We expend a great deal of effort in the struggle against those who permit a negligent attitude toward a most valuable raw material. To be honest, unfortunately we come frequently across such improper attitudes.

Workers in many enterprises keep as a guarantee, like Gogol's Plyushkin, metal items unneeded for production purposes instead of writing them off at the proper time and delivering them for resmelting. For more than 2 years two written-off caterpillar excavators weighing more than 100 tons have been collecting rust under open skies at the Yuzhnouralsk bauxite mines of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy instead of being delivered to Vtorchermet.

Metal waste is frequently irretrievably lost as a result of leveling and landfill operations.

A very great deal of metal scrap is not returned from the villages for processing. For example, old combines, seeders and other types of farm equipment may be seen discarded at the edge of the forest and in the ravines near

near Izmaylovski Sovkhoz, Kizil'skiy Rayon. Unfortunately, the Vtorchermet personnel have very few means of directly influencing negligent economic managers to whom a fine of 300 or 500 rubles is like a mosquito bite. Substantially more effective means of economic coercion would help the party and soviet organizations and, particularly, the people's control organs. Photographs and movies and expository articles in the local press and on the radio and television are effective weapons.

In our scrap metal procurement work we assign a major role to mass steps to involve the public in the oblast's cities and rayons in its collection. Let us take the example of the major and interesting project which we call the Day of Pioneer Automotive Metal Scrap Columns. On that day, usually on the eve of the anniversary of the founding of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin, more than 2,000 trucks are assigned to haul metal scrap. In all oblast cities and rayons decorated trucks filled with metal scrap line up in columns. Pioneers and school children hold meetings at the gathering areas, after which, accompanied by the best scrap collecting children, they travel to the metallurgical enterprises or Vtorchermet reception centers. This is a great annual labor celebration by the South Ural Pioneers. It has an educational importance and at the same time it helps to clean school yards from scrap before the summer vacation. We are hoping that the Komsomol Central Committee and the Central Council of the Pioneer Organization will adopt our suggestion of holding an all-union day of Pioneer automotive columns carrying scrap metal.

Alloyed steel scrap and waste procurements are particularly important in the work of our association, for Chelyabinsk Oblast is a leading center for high-grade metallurgical production in the country. In speaking of the great efforts being made to include in metallurgical production many hundreds of thousands of tons of metal waste, which contains valuable alloying elements, I would like to mention the losses of alloyed scrap allowed at industrial enterprises. Our estimates indicate that every year at least 1 million tons of alloyed steel scrap and waste containing approximately 12,000-13,000 tons of nickel and chromium, 3,000 tons of tungsten and manganese and hundreds of tons of molybdenum, vanadium and cobalt are irretrievably lost. This is taking place at a time when our national economy is in great need for such metals. Failure to collect alloyed steel scrap by mixing it with standard steel brands causes not only tremendous harm to the national economy as a result of losses of expensive and scarce alloying elements. Mixed with ordinary smelting batches, they spoil the steel brands to which nickel, manganese and other elements are harmful.

The Chelyabinsk Pipe Manufacturing Plant enjoys all-union reputation as a high standards enterprise. Yet its attitude toward alloyed steel waste is quite unseemly. Although Vtorchermet has made the pipe makers pay huge fines for a number of years, the wasting of alloyed steel scrap goes on.

As we can see, industrial, transportation and agricultural enterprises frequently display a negligent attitude toward collecting alloyed steel waste. The Vtorchermet workers as well hardly do everything they can in this respect. Many oblasts and republics have no specialists who can assess knowledgeably the scrap balances at metal processing enterprises. The number of officials

dealing with alloyed scrap procurements was, in my view hastily, reduced several years ago.

In my opinion, the complete solution of the problem of cadres empowered to procure metal scrap, including alloys, and many others can be resolved by unifying the ferrous and nonferrous scrap procurement system. The long practical experience of Vtorchermet under the separate systems which preceded the sovnarkhozes, followed by the consolidation and then second splitting between the ministries of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy proved that the only justification for the existence of two separate systems is based on purely departmental considerations. Unquestionably, a unification would yield major national economic benefits.

Speaking of scrap metal procurements, let us mention the people whose profession this is. Many Vtorchermet representatives are enthusiastic about their work. Sparing neither time nor effort, they work for the preservation of the scrap and its proper utilization and prevent the waste of this national resource. Unfortunately, the earnings of Vtorchermet representatives and their title are inconsistent with the amount and nature of the work they do.

Hauling is the most important link in the technological chain which connects the procurement, processing and delivery of scrap metal to the consumer. As a rule, it begins with the hauling of tens of millions of tons of this valuable raw material with trucks which are inefficiently used. This is explained by the fact that all types of trucks are used, even including some as small as the UAZ, although metal scrap has a small volume averaging 0.3-0.4 tons per cubic meter. Meanwhile, the body of a large KamAZ truck has a volume of approximately 6 cubic meters, which means that it can carry an average of about 2 tons of metal scrap, although the capacity of such a truck is several times greater.

Specialized large-body vehicles have long been used in all industrially developed countries in hauling metal scrap. In Czechoslovakia Vtorchermet's counterpart uses huge-bodied Skoda and Tatra trucks. Unfortunately, we have only begun to make specialized vehicles for hauling scrap metal. In my view, the Ministry of Automotive Industry should initiate the series production of such vehicles so that we may subsequently create specialized scrap metal trucking enterprises or trains. This would allow us not only substantially to lower hauling costs but will also accelerate and simplify the accepting and loading of scrap metal.

The railroad transportation system plays a special part in Vtorchermet work. Every year the country's railroads haul tens of millions of tons of scrap metal. However, constant interruptions caused by the shortage of cars paralyze the work of many of our enterprises. Another major hindrance is the lack of substantiated norms for loading the cars with odd-shaped lightweight scrap metal. Frequently the fullest possible utilization of the cars is replaced by appeals to work well. Meanwhile, only some 20 percent of the many millions of tons of scrap metal created in the national economy can be readied for resmelting with the use of powerful packing presses. Vtorchermet has only

58 such presses throughout the country and 61 others may be found at metallurgical enterprises. No such equipment is available at all in many oblasts, krais and even republics. Naturally, in order to compress lightweight scrap metal it must be taken to a press located, as a rule, hundreds or even thousands of kilometers away from the collecting areas. The railroad workers, however, are unwilling to haul it, although only a certain percentage of the scrap can be processed with shears and cutters (no other means of processing and condensing lightweight scrap exist).

All of this does not mean that the hauling of lightweight scrap should go on endlessly. The time has come to consider most seriously the question of equipping the Vtorchermet enterprises with means for compressing the scrap metal before shipment. Industry must undertake this project. Naturally, this is no easy task, for there are in our country about 1,500 shops and sectors which accept secondary metals.

Without waiting for industry to resolve this problem, our association has been engaged in the creation of such mechanisms by itself for quite some time. We designed and manufactured eight scrap drops which enabled us to free many thousands of railroad cars. Currently one of our shops is using a hydro-pneumatic compressor we recently developed. The initial results have been encouraging.

The problem of warehousing areas is serious. The point is that the size of most Vtorchermet production sectors and shops, where scrap metal is delivered have become inadequate to handle the ever increasing volume of work. Adding to this the irregularity with which freight cars are made available it becomes understandable why scrap accumulates in the centers and the reason for the long idling of trucks waiting to be loaded. The personnel of Vtorchermet shops and sections are frequently forced to stop accepting scrap deliveries for these reasons.

In order to work efficiently the Vtorchermet enterprises need additional warehouse space, rail spurs, freight hoisting mechanisms and a great deal of other equipment. The problems which we must resolve brook no delay. This is in the interest of the work. In 1981 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree which resolved a number of important problems related to the procurement and processing of scrap metal. The same problems were discussed at a very representative meeting on the use of secondary resources. All of this proves the great importance which the party and the Soviet government ascribe to upgrading the efficiency of the utilization of ferrous metal scrap and waste. The Vtorchermet personnel must apply all their forces to the implementation of their tasks.

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CSO: 1802/9

WE TRY TO ACT RESPONSIBLY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 1984 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 117-119

[Letter to the editors by O. Ignatenko, General Director of the Dal'vostokvtorsyrye Association, Vladivostok]

[Text] As we know, mountains of waste grow in the course of the production process with the utilization of material resources, and raw materials and large quantities of them are lost without a trace. "When trees are felled the chips fly" is an old folk saying which seems to confirm the inevitability of such losses. For a long time a great deal of waste was hauled to the city dumps, polluting the area and harming nature. It appeared that a solution to this difficult situation had been found when special refuse burning enterprises were built around industrial centers. However, they too failed to resolve the problem, for they too destroyed a great deal of valuable raw materials for the only reason that they were unsightly.

An actual autonomous sector has been created and has actively gathered strength in recent years: An industry for the procurement, processing and further utilization of industrial and consumer waste. It is particularly important under the conditions of remote areas, for shipping newly extracted raw materials to them require tremendous energy and labor outlays.

The area of activities of the Dal'vostokvtorsyrye [Far East Secondary Raw Materials Association] extends from the Maritime area to Kamchatka, covering an area of exceptionally harsh natural-weather conditions. The difficulty is further worsened by the still insufficiently developed transportation network in the area, which creates difficulties in the work of production and procurement enterprises and offices handling large quantities of secondary raw materials shipped to dozens of recipients.

A particularly characteristic feature is the fact that whereas formerly the processing of waste was essentially the work of semiprofessional local industry enterprises, our current partners are powerful enterprises which need raw materials in the thousands of tons. For example, we supply secondary raw materials and waste paper to the Khabarovsk Cardboard and Ruberoid Plant for the manufacturing of soft roofing which is greatly needed in construction. Broken glass is collected throughout the kray and shipped to the Maritime Glass Plant where it is recirculated and used in the manufacturing of glass

utensils and other glass items. Worn out tires and inner tubes are shipped to Barnaul and bones to Usolye-Sibirskoye for the manufacturing of glue and various semifinished products.

Still, only a minute quantity of all that is reusable is being processed as confirmed by official statistics. The average annual per capita paper consumption in the Russian Federation is in excess of 32 kilograms but only 6 kilograms are recirculated. The book exchange system which, incidentally, should be expanded and streamlined, is actively assisting in the collection of paper. However, a big city such as Vladivostok has only five stores for collecting reusable raw materials and the sale of goods in greater demand, which is clearly insufficient. This inconveniences the population and creates difficulties for the personnel in the sector. A search is under way for new means of organizing the collecting of such materials, household waste in particular. The undeservedly forgotten experience of the old "scrap collectors" is being revived (naturally in accordance with modern requirements). Mobile centers are being used with increasing frequency. This helps to involve the rural population as well in the important collection of secondary raw materials.

For a number of reasons, most frequently the result of family upbringing, some people feel embarrassed to be economical at home, believing this to be a manifestation of stinginess and pettiness. This encourages the careless treatment of objects and waste and, in the final account, creates "scorn" for those who are thrifty and do not scorn trifles. Need we say that such traits are automatically extended to the area of public production. This is the moral side of the matter which must be taken into consideration.

This is no simple matter. It requires the combined efforts of several departments and full support, including that of the mass information media, the press, television and radio. In particular, it is a question of enhancing the prestigiousness of the profession of collectors of secondary raw materials. By ancient habit we occasionally describe ourselves jocularly or even seriously as "scrap collectors," forgetting that collecting secondary raw materials is technologically on the level of many modern industrial sectors, the more so since along with its procurement functions, with every passing year our system is increasing its productive functions aimed at the treatment of collected raw materials and obtaining finished products.

This is fully consistent with the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Intensifying the Work on the Thrifty and Rational Utilization of Raw, Fuel and Energy and Other Material Resources," which is of leading importance to all workers in our sector. Possibilities in this area are unlimited and could be used without additional outlays. For example, what is the sense of shipping secondary raw material procurements from the Far East to the Volga, Central Asia or the Crimea (as happens frequently) if their treatment could be organized in our own area? Transportation costs alone are sometimes higher than the commissioning of additional capacities for processing waste locally.

In the past there were extensive arguments on the expediency of building in the Maritime Kray center a factory for unwoven fabrics. The principal argument of the opponents was the following: There is a shortage of local

materials to guarantee rhythmical supplies for production on such a scale. Raduga, the existing factory, had completely saturated the local market and a marketing problem had even appeared. The point is that in recent years the variety of carpets has expanded to such an extent that goods made of recycled materials have lost their competitiveness compared to the high-grade output. Therefore, this problem can be resolved in two ways: lower the retail price of the goods produced by the Raduga Factory or else change the nature of its output by increasing the production of items currently in greater demand. In other words, greater economic flexibility should be displayed by creating favorable conditions for producers, stores and customers.

According to computations, production costs and specific capital investments in the production of goods made of waste are as a rule lower than those produced from traditional raw materials. The savings are mainly the result of reduced outlays related to the extraction, transportation and treatment of initial raw materials, not to mention the significantly reduced adverse effect of industry on the environment.

Our closest partners are the collectives of industrial enterprises which have a sensible and thrifty attitude toward all kinds of waste and skillfully organize their collecting, storing and shipping to reception centers. Virtually every single plant and factory has been issued specific norms for the delivery of industrial waste, planned on a centralized basis. Nevertheless, some economic managers underestimate the importance and national economic significance of this question. They frequently complain of being undersupplied with metal, forgetting how little they delivered compared to the plan. Enterprises such as the Dal'ryba All-Union Production Association, Glavvladivostokstroy and the Far Eastern Shipping Administration have unjustifiably lowered their plans for secondary raw material deliveries by a factor of 2 or 3 (with the agreement of their departments) without informing the enterprises in our sector, thus creating an adverse situation for the implementation of the plan.

The thrifty attitude toward the people's property and the sensible utilization of industrial waste and byproducts is a major state task which, unfortunately, is rarely discussed by party gorkom and raykom buros and party and worker meetings. Naturally, this problem has political aspects, for its successful solution is frequently complicated by a departmental and parochial approach.

The future of socialist industry is inseparably linked to mastery of resource-saving and wasteless technologies which offer extensive opportunities for upgrading social production effectiveness. If for some temporary reason an enterprise is still unable to utilize its own production waste it should give it to others. This kind of circulation is the task of the procurement service.

Our association, which is aware of this fact, is helping both directly and indirectly to strengthen the industrial potential of the Far Eastern national economy and the adjacent areas. Actually, let us point out for the sake of fairness that until recently the atmosphere in the collective was not consistent with its tasks. We were hindered by high cadre turnover and labor discipline leaves something to be desired. All of this adversely affected the mood of the people and end production results.

We must believe in our own strength, accurately gauge real possibilities and realize that difficulties can be surmounted and production results achieved only through joint efforts. In the course of our searches we reached the unanimous opinion that we must struggle for the creation of a monolithic and united collective. We declared war on indifference, negligence, slackness and carelessness and on all discipline violations. The implementation of these requirements became everyone's norm, without exception, regardless of position or past merits.

In our enterprise the party members, frontrankers and production innovators set the tone by providing examples for emulation in the fulfillment of public duties. The party bureau effectively supports anyone who makes a personal contribution to improving the organization of the work and strengthening order and discipline in all production sectors.

Together with strengthening order in production we seek new means of enhancing labor productivity. The individual possibilities of the working person are displayed most fully and clearly precisely in the brigade contracting method based on cost accounting. On the suggestion of the association's party members the party assumed control over the implementation of obligations. A people's control post was set up to ensure that issues are aired. A photo-newspaper comes out regularly. It reflects the daily life of the collective and draws special attention to unresolved problems. Each issue carries notes on the steps taken. If necessary, some photone newspaper issues are sent to other enterprises in the association, which contributes to the more efficient elimination of shortcomings and to the dissemination of the experience of frontrankers and innovators.

An exhibition of the achievements of the kray's national economy was opened in Vladivostok on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Far East from interventionists and White Guards. For the first time the visitors learned that a mass of needed and useful objects can be made from seemingly unprepossessing household and industrial waste. Items produced by our Raduga factory were awarded a diploma by the newspaper IZVESTIYA. The visitors' record book contained a large number of grateful statements and wishes which we studied closely and included in our future work plans.

Going beyond the sector, I would like to mention the organizational aspect of the work at large. Currently secondary raw materials are procured through the Vtorsyr'ye system of the USSR Gossnab and consumer cooperative systems, Vtorchermet and Vtortsvetmet. Departmentalism is manifested with particular clarity whenever such enterprises happen to operate side by side. One can see a fenced area with heaps of paper, metal and textile scrap and 100 meters away the same type of yard with the same complement of secondary raw materials. The only difference between them is their affiliation. Had everything been concentrated in the same hands costs would have probably been lower.

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CSO: 1802/9

TODAY'S WORKING CLASS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 120-123

[Review by Prof V. Drobizhev, dr of historical sciences, of the books (1) "K Izucheniyu Rabocheho Klassa i Rabocheho Dvizheniya" [Study of the Working Class and the Worker Movement]. Edited by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member T. T. Timofeyev, M. A. Zaborov, L. B. Moskvina and Yu. R. Skvirskiy. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 496 pp; (2) "Razvitiye Rabocheho Klassa v Sotsialisticheskoy Obshchestve" [Development of the Working Class in the Socialist Society]. Edited by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member T. T. Timofeyev, L. A. Gordon and E. V. Klopov. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 527 pp; (3) "Kommunisty i Trudyashchiyesya Krupnykh Gorodov v Bor'be za Sotsial'nyy i Nauchno-Tekhnicheskiy Progress" [Communists and Working People in the Large Cities in the Struggle for Social and Scientific and Technical Progress]. Edited by V. A. Bogorad, E. V. Klopov and A. K. Nazimova. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 463 pp]

[Text] The study of the development and constructive activities of the working class and its role in the contemporary world, summing up the experience of the international communist and worker movements and the comprehensively describing the working and living conditions of the workers are mandatory and most important tasks of the Soviet social sciences. The new series of books "The Working Class in the 20th Century: History and Contemporaneity," published by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Worker Movement and the academy's Izdatel'stvo Nauka (series editors USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member T. T. Timofeyev, Prof I. Ye. Vorozheykin and Prof R. G. Yanovskiy) deals with topical aspects of this problem. So far three books within this series have been published, covering trends in the development of the working class in the world socialist commonwealth, the role of communists and working people in the large cities in the struggle for scientific and technical and social progress and the international solidarity of the working people and the situation and struggles of the proletariat in the developed capitalist countries. The study of the ideological struggle in the historiography of the worker, communist and trade union movements plays an essential part in these works.

The contemporary working class -- the main character in the tremendous accomplishments which are transforming the economic and sociopolitical features of the planet -- is developing and acting both as an international and a leading

force of social progress in the overwhelming majority of countries in the contemporary world. The positive feature of the books included in the series is the fact that the development of the international working class as a separate entity and a sum total of national detachments of the global labor army is the object of the studies which analyze the general and specific aspects of this process in the socialist and capitalist countries.

Particular attention is being paid to the working class in the socialist countries, the development of the objective and subjective aspects of the growth of its preparedness for socialist change and the building of communism, changes in the social aspect of the workers and their increased activeness in the various areas of social life. The fact that the authors of the respective sections of the books under review are both noted party leaders and scientists (including entire research collectives) in the countries of the socialist commonwealth greatly contributes to the comprehensive and extensive study of this trend of the revolutionary process in the contemporary world.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko, M. Ovari, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and MSZMP Central Committee secretary, and K. Hager, SED Central Committee Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary analyze in detail the basic problems of activities of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class in the USSR, Hungary and the GDR. They describe the basic directions and methods in its struggle for the advancement of real socialism. They convincingly prove that the successes achieved in the building of socialism raise increasing demands concerning the organizational, ideological and political education work of communist and worker parties and the state and economic institutions and mass organizations of working people they head and upgrade the importance of the scientific substantiation of communist strategy aimed at reorganizing the entire way of life of the people's masses. The authors note, however, that their increased influence on the content, forms and pace of this process under socialist conditions is possible only "when the policy of the ruling communist parties takes accurately into consideration the true interests of the working class and all working people and is fully consistent with them. Another mandatory prerequisite is the influence of the communists on shaping and developing the interests of all population strata" ((2), p 21).

The various sections in (3), written by heads of party organizations in Moscow, Budapest, Berlin and Prague: V. V. Grishin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, L. Maroti, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member, K. Nauman, SED Central Committee Politburo member, and A. Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, comprehensively describe the specifics of the socioeconomic and scientific and technical development of the capitals of the USSR, Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia and the content of the constructive activities of the communists and the political vanguard of the working people in these cities. Above all they convincingly prove that under socialist conditions scientific and technical progress develops in the interest of the working people and helps to resolve not only strictly production but broad social problems as well. Let us emphasize that since most problems related to the activities of the working class are resolved above all in the big and major cities with a powerful industrial base, in which many scientific and design establishments are concentrated and which are centers of political and

cultural life, the choice of such cities as a special research target is entirely legitimate.

Since the second part of (2) was the result of a joint study conducted by an international group of scientists from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the USSR and Czechoslovakia within the framework of the Problem Commission on Multilateral Cooperation Among Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries, cooperating on "The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process," the common research program gives an idea of the variety of specific forms of manifestation of this essentially single process.

On the one hand, the authors convincingly show the interaction between the dynamics of production forces and production relations and, on the other, the dynamics of the way of life and the entire nature of working people activities. They characterize this process with the help of extensive data and materials of specific sociological studies. Particularly noteworthy is the study of changes in the socioprofessional structure of the employed population in the USSR covering a period of 4 decades (from the end of the 1930s to the 1980s), made in accordance with Marx's system of dynamics of technological means of production. The nature and "sharpness" of these changes and the accelerated pace of urbanization and cultural development of Soviet society had a substantial impact on the dynamics of the way of life of the urban population and determined both the achievements and the remaining problems and shortcomings of this process.

The authors pay close attention to the question of the interaction between scientific and technical and social progress in the context of the modern history of the working class, for the development of science and technology is the decisive factor in enhancing the general and particularly the production standards of the workers and all working people. This increases the role of the working class as the main productive force in society. "The most active in production are workers with skills which require...a high general cultural standard. It is precisely such workers who usually launch initiatives aimed at significantly upgrading labor productivity and the fulfillment and overfulfillment of planned assignments. It is they who are directly involved in the acceleration of technical progress" ((2), p 251). At the same time, the higher the skills of the worker, the higher the "degree of creative participation in the competition and the movement of innovators, the degree of participation in production management and planning and the level of fulfillment of social functions and spiritual and cultural needs and interests" (p 348).

However, as this international study of the processes of development of the working class in socialist society shows, the use in production of new and more efficient equipment "is by far not always accompanied by an increase in the necessary skills of the participants in the labor process." Occasionally, economic necessity "forces the use of equipment which may be productive but is futureless from the viewpoint of enhancing the creative elements of labor." This calls for paying even greater attention to making the changes in the nature of the efforts of the workers "an independent objective in the creation of new equipment" (p 352).

On the basis of the study of extensive government statistics, the conclusion drawn in (3) is that in our country not only individual key sectors but the economy at large have acquired a developed industrial nature. At the same time the scientific and technical revolution substantially changes the aspect of many production lines and entire sectors, which signifies a transition to scientific and industrial production. Hence the specific difficulty of socioeconomic development, for we are simultaneously dealing with tasks which essentially fall within different eras. Naturally, such processes are particularly emphasized in the big cities.

The authors describe the specific content of the changes under way through the example of workers operating automated production facilities, who will be one of the basic worker groups of the future (see pp 224-238). The study of the social features of workers in experimental-testing production facilities gives us an idea of the changes resulting from the development of scientific and industrial production (see pp 222-224).

However, scientific and technical progress is uneven and occasionally contradictory. With the increased complexity and intellectualization of labor, in frequent cases the latter becomes simplified. Its monotony increases and its content becomes impoverished. Combined with the increased level of education and culture of the workers, the widespread preservation within the production structure of an extensive area in which manual, underskilled and unskilled labor is applied presents society not only with economic but sociopsychological problems which leave their mark on the entire course of social development (see pp 220-221).

The social activeness of the working people plays a major part in resolving problems related to further production intensification and increased efficiency. In this connection the authors do not bypass problems and contradictions. The subjective and objective readiness of the working class to resolve the entire range of problems related to modern production problems is by far not always used (see pp 253-255).

The comprehensive study of the way of life of urban workers organically includes the study of the main directions followed in the development of their activities in nonproduction areas as well. It is precisely in the big cities that the trends of the new qualitative features of the way of life are most clearly manifested (see pp 257-262).

However, as the authors emphasize, these phenomena are by far not simple. They draw our attention to the imperfect structure of the leisure time and the underdevelopment of some active types of cultural recreation which are of essential significance to shaping a harmoniously developed person (see pp 274-277, 307).

The big cities are not only agglomerations of a huge production and scientific potential. As a rule, unique cultural values and the historical memory of the nation are concentrated within them. That is why today, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, mass housing and industrial construction and the development of transportation, the problem of preserving the valuable legacy of the past and the architectural complexes and cultural

monuments which today are the pride of the capitals of the socialist states discussed in the book -- Moscow, Prague, Budapest and Berlin -- assumes particular gravity.

The works under review link with full justification the increased influence of the working class on the totality of processes of economic and sociopolitical development of the socialist countries with the fact that the influence itself develops under the conditions of the growing social homogeneity of the socialist society. This makes even more important the application of a creative approach to defining the social nature of the working class and its place in the dynamic social structure of the socialist society. In this case, the authors of (2) emphasize, we must avoid all extremes, such as, for example, the narrow empirical interpretation of the working class according to which it is actually defined as the sum total of workers, while the workers themselves are considered as "merely the performers of specific labor functions." In such a case the working class acts not as an active force which creates history and a new society but as a passive "class within itself," "the situation of which should simply be 'improved,' 'alleviated' and so on" (p 300).

Equally unacceptable is the other abstract-theoretical approach to the definition of the working class, which helps to idealize its "real historical situation...", for in this case the essence is considered as separate from its specific manifestations." However, in reality this essence is manifested precisely through various phenomena. Thus, the working class, "which plays the universal-historical role of maker of a classless society, consists of specific individuals with their own habits, self-awareness and way of life" (ibid.). There are many people among the workers, "who by virtue of their objective role in production are members of the working class although they are still quite far removed from the working class in terms of numerous sociopsychological characteristics" (p 278). Usually such workers are more numerous in the relatively new and frequently just developing working class detachments, found mainly in the service industry where "the level of worker concentration remains low and is rising quite slowly" (pp 209-210). Nevertheless, we must remember that in these detachments as well "all basic features and characteristics of the working class are present" (p 270). Therefore, we "must not abstract ourselves from any and all features and characteristics of the empirically identifiable working class." It is insufficient merely to emphasize its universal recognition and leading role. "It is necessary to determine the way they can be realized by the working class in a specific place and time" (p 300).

The formulation of accurate methodological criteria for determining the nature of the working class and its real position in the social structure of the socialist society is important in particular for the sake of gaining an accurate understanding of the process of broadening its boundaries, which takes place in different countries at a different pace and is reflected differently in statistical indicators. Let us emphasize in this respect the fact that in Hungary the direct production managers are classified as members of the working class (see pp 302-303), that several professional worker groups previously classified as employees were reclassified as worker groups after statistical indicators were corrected in the USSR and Czechoslovakia in the 1970s (see pp 204, 376) and that "under GDR conditions most employees, i.e., working people doing mainly mental work merge with the working class" (p 359).

The fulfillment by the working class of its leading role in the advancement of socialism is greatly assisted by the growth of the intelligentsia in the socialist countries into a large stratum of working people, most of them stemming from the deep popular strata and largely reinforced by the offspring of worker and peasant families. The circumstances shaping the activities of the intelligentsia influence its firm acceptance of the ideals and values of the working class. The functioning of socialist production collectives, in industry above all, is of particular importance to the joint activities of the working class and the intelligentsia and, in the future, the merger of individual groups of intellectual workers with the working class (see *ibid.*, pp 200, 302, 365). At the same time the authors of this international study also draw our attention to the fact that the daily "neighborhood" closeness of workers and employees and the intensive contacts between their families, which contribute to the reciprocal enrichment of social and spiritual values "on an informal family level" (p 201) is important in terms of these processes.

In the elaboration of this topic (about which discussions which, let us add, are not always fruitful arise frequently) the authors of these works formulate concepts which require further interpreting and refining, such as the conclusion that specialists (in terms of training) holding worker jobs "could and even should be considered both an organic part of the working class and a separate stratum of the intelligentsia, for such workers-specialists perform one of the most important functions in society, that of a cultural support in building socialism and communism" (p 200). However where if not in scientific publications should one raise and thus submit to a general debate the unresolved and possibly controversial problems the solution of which is of such great importance for the further increase of our knowledge of the realities of socialism?

The reviewed books are extensive studies of the influence of real socialism on world progress. As the parts written by Academician B. N. Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and others show, socialism, which won and is dynamically developing, is having a many-tiered influence on the world revolutionary process. It is stimulated by the power of the example: The achievements of real socialism which help to enhance the level of the class awareness of working people in the capitalist countries and which teach them readiness to struggle for a socialist future. It is helped by the struggle waged by the Soviet communists for the peaceful future of humankind. The authors also describe the means through which monopoly capital is trying to impose on the proletariat bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideals while doing everything possible to defame real socialism.

The authors of these books -- H. Winston, national chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, G. Hall, its secretary general, M. O'Riordan, CP of Ireland secretary general, and other personalities of the international communist movement -- analyze the various aspects of the class struggle waged by the proletariat in developed capitalist countries at the present stage, including problems related to the activities of multinational corporations or those created by scientific and technical progress under the bourgeois system. They describe the organic inability of the ruling class in the capitalist countries to resolve in the interest of the people the social problems of technical progress, urbanization and the internationalization of economic life.

The steady improvement of the methodological apparatus and the systematic historiographic studies conducted by Soviet and foreign scientists, who study problems of the worker movement, are major prerequisites for the intensified study of the topical problems of the worker movement and the development and activities of the working class in the contemporary world. For this reason, paying very close attention to such problems is an unquestionably quality of these works, (1) in particular, which consists of materials of the international meeting of students of the working class and worker movements, which was held in Paris in 1980.

The value of these monographs is unquestionable. They direct our attention to the complex problems of the history of the working class and are a substantial and serious addition to existing works on its role in the contemporary world. They contain important methodological instructions and a skillfully summed up tremendous amount of factual data on the social development of the working class, above all under socialist conditions.

Now it is a question for this successfully initiated series to provide extensive scientifically substantiated answers to the full set of topical problems which are the content of the activities and struggle of the contemporary international working class.

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CSO: 1802/9

IN THE UNITED BATTLE RANKS...

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 124-125

[Review by Prof V. Kiselev, dr of historical sciences, of the book "Kogda Gremeli Boi..." [When the Battles Thundered...] by I. M. Podobed and B. G. Komskiy. Cultural and educational work at the front during the Great Patriotic War. Voenizdat, Moscow, 1983, 239 pp]

[Text] Since the Great Patriotic War Soviet historical science has done a great deal in the study of the history of the war and in summing up its experience and lessons. This includes cultural and educational work at the front, which is the important topic discussed in the work under review. In intensifying its ideological and political influence among the troops and improving the ways and methods of cultural and educational work, the party developed in the army and navy personnel high moral-political and combat qualities, maintained the high combat spirit among the soldiers and inspired them to military exploits for the Soviet fatherland.

This very rich experience in cultural and educational work at the front during the last war is of both scientific historical and practical significance. Today as well the most effective forms and methods of educational work conducted at the front can be used by the party organizations and serve as reliable means of educating the soldiers under contemporary conditions.

The book under review is a many-faceted study. The authors extensively used previously unknown documents filed in party and state archives. Materials from the periodical (military) press of that time have also been used quite extensively.

Guided by the Leninist principles of cultural and educational work and using the experience acquired during the civil war, under the conditions of the beginning of the war against fascism, the party directed the cultural institutions toward resolving practical problems related to the defense of the socialist state and ensuring victory over the enemy. The authors emphasize the changes in the structure and the reorganization of the entire work of such institutions. They analyze its main directions, means, forms and methods on the basis of the situation which prevailed at one stage or another in the combat operations. The reader is about specific methods of agitation-propaganda and cultural education work such as the agitation vehicles, trains and carriages, Leninist field rooms, agitation dugouts, etc.

The first agitation vehicles showed up on the Leningrad front as early as June 1941. They engaged in particularly active agitation and propaganda work during the historic battle for Moscow, the most difficult period of the battle for Stalingrad, in crossing the Dnepr and the liberation of Right Bank Ukraine. The authors extensively praise the cultural and education workers and cite specific examples of their truly heroic behavior at the front.

The Red Army agitation trains operating under the political administrations of the front acquired extensive experience in ideological and political work among the troops and the local population. They ably used lecturers and radio broadcasts, films and concert, posters and slogans.

The authors have made a study and, for the first time in Soviet literature, systematized the extensive factual data on cultural education work at the front. Cultural and educational workers worked in a truly heroic fashion during the 900-day blockade of Leningrad. Between the beginning of the war and March 1944 their activities included 19,000 lectures and reports, some 34,000 concerts and shows, hundreds of thousands of films and numerous exhibitions; 8,000 radio loudspeakers reported two or three times daily on the situation at the fronts and throughout the country. More than 100 noted scientists took part in propaganda work: Academicians N. S. Derzhavin and B. D. Grekov, professors V. V. Mavrodin and A. I. Molok, VUZ teachers, writers and journalists.

The role of visual agitation, which became a combat weapon for the political education of the troops during the war, is thoroughly studied on the basis of the rich data culled essentially from archives and memoirs. The party organizations tried to make visual agitation as expressive, clear and topical as possible.

We read with interest descriptions of the activities of cultural and educational institutions on developing among the troops a spirit of friendship and brotherhood in arms among the peoples of the USSR. Letters which the working people sent to the soldiers from their areas were among the effective means of developing their spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Letters-instructions, the authors note, were extensively used by the party organizations and cultural and educational institutions in their agitation and propaganda work. They became part of the heroic chronicles of the Great Patriotic War as documentary proofs of the boundless love of the Soviet people for their socialist homeland and a clear manifestation of the patriotism and friendship among the peoples of the USSR.

The best chapters, in our view, are those which deal with the tremendous ideological-political influence of the press and the radio. Throughout the war the passionate writings of the Soviet journalists and writers fired the hearts of the troops with the indomitable aspiration to clear our sacred fatherland from the fascist aggressors faster.

The thorough study of numerous sources and extensive publications enabled the authors to develop in frequent cases their own viewpoint and approach to seemingly thoroughly researched problems. This particularly applies to

frontline radio broadcasts, militant radio exchanges between the front and the rear, radio broadcasting systems mounted on trucks, radio broadcasts directed at the enemy, the combat operations of special agitation airplanes which broadcast in German from the air and others. Frontline radio broadcasts, the authors conclude, actively contributed to the moral-political tempering of the troops and to enhancing their combat skills and were an important means of ideological work aimed at the enemy.

Movies played an equally important role. The book cites data according to which more than 6 million movie projections took place at the front during the Great Patriotic War. This was not simply a case showing a film. As a rule, before the show a lecturer or agitator made a brief report to the troops on the situation at the front and the most important events in the country and abroad. During the war 400 issues of the Soyuzkinozhurnal, 65 issues of the News of the Day journal, 24 Frontline Motion Picture releases and dozens of topic documentaries were shown. It would be hard to overestimate the historical and moral value of the movie chronicles of the nationwide exploit. This was the creation of the efforts, talent and courage of 252 frontline cameramen, 20 percent of whom died bravely.

The painters as well were inspired by the ideals of serving the homeland and strengthening the further moral and political unity between party and people in the struggle against the enemy. Posters and cartoons were the most effective, topical, widespread and popular among all types of graphic art. They were simple and intelligible and their political sharpness and emotional impact were exceptionally great.

During the war the central publishing houses alone printed more than 800 different posters in excess of 34 million copies. The "TASS Windows," based on the "ROSTA Windows," had a tremendous mobilizing impact on troops and working people in the rear. Posters and "TASS Windows" immediately reacted to events at the front and the rear. Together with the Soviet Army units they mounted offensives, appealed for the defense of the native land and exposed the enemy.

The authors emphasize that Soviet composers made their worthy contribution to the struggle against the enemy. Songs helped to endure periods of severe trials and were a powerful weapon in the hands of cultural and educational workers. Indeed, one cannot conceive of frontline life and the spiritual world of the troops during that heroic period without songs such as "In the Dugout," composed by K. Listov with lyrics by the poet A. Surkov; "Have a Smoke," by M. Tabachnikov and I. Frenkel'; "In the Forest at the Frontline" and "Under Balkan Stars" by M. Blanter and M. Isakovskiy; "Nightingale" by V. Solov'yev-Sedoy and A. Fat'yanov, and many, many others.

The men of arts played a worthy role in the nationwide ranks of defenders of the homeland. Cultural sponsorship of army and navy, which had developed from the very first years of the Soviet system, assumed a truly mass scope during the war years. During the Patriotic War more than 42,000 actors gave some 500,000 concerts and shows. Cultural sponsorship of the troops created true enthusiasts for this noble project. For example, V. Obukhova, the MKhAT actress, toured virtually all the fronts, was wounded at Stalingrad, was

frequently bombed at the Kursk Arc and travelled along the forest roads to the units of the First Belorussian Front. P. Panina, who performed in 3,000 concerts for the seamen of the Red Banner Baltic Fleet, visited the front more than 200 times. The troops repeatedly met with leading Soviet actors P. Sadovskiy, Ye. Turchaninova, A. Ostuzhev, Ye. Gogoleva, N. Cherkasov, L. Ruslanova, L. Utesov, A. Raykin and others.

The Great Patriotic War waged by the Soviet Union against Hitlerite Germany was not only an armed struggle waged by our people for their freedom and independence but also an irreconcilable struggle between two ideologies: Socialist and fascist. This struggle was crowned with the victory of socialist ideology over man-hating imperialism and fascism.

Let us emphasize once again that this book on cultural and educational work at the front during the period of severe trials is, in our view, the first successful effort to write one of the outstanding pages in the history of the Great Patriotic War.

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CSO: 1802/9

SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST ECONOMY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 15 Feb 84)
pp 126-128

[Review by A. Anchishkin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book "Mirivoye Sotsialisticheskoye Khozyaystvo: Voprosy Politicheskoy Ekonomiki" [The World Socialist Economy: Problems of Political Economy]. Edited by Academician O. T. Bogomolov. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1982, 560 pp.

[Text] The conversion to a primarily intensive economic development and increased production efficiency based on scientific and technical progress present most socialist countries with new and more difficult problems. Increasingly, interaction among fraternal states is shifting from simple forms of foreign trade to the realms of production, construction and scientific research. Previously unknown forms of planned collaboration, specialization and cooperation are appearing. This intensifies and creates qualitatively new features of socialist economic integration.

All of this calls for the further elaboration of the theory of development of the world socialist economy as one of the most important trends in socialist political economy. The purpose of this theory is to intensify the scientific substantiation of a joint long-term economic policy and large-scale integration measures.

Noteworthy in this respect is the collective monograph on the world socialist economy, which was prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System. The importance of this work is due, in our view, to the fact that it largely meets the topical need for a political-economic summation of the huge volume of data acquired in the 35 years of development of the world socialist economy.

The monograph covers all basic aspects of the topic: subject, socialist economic laws and patterns in the world socialist economy, development process, shaping the mechanism for its planned regulation and its role in the global economy. The book also contains an expanded criticism of bourgeois views on problems of the world socialist economy.

Although written by a large staff, the book offers unity, consistency and a logical presentation. The methodological unity is based on the definition of the topic: International socialist production relations as a subsystem of

socialist production relations as a whole. The authors note the common socio-economic content of international and domestic production relations, their specifics in the international area and the relative autonomy of their dynamics under the influence of factors inherent in the international sphere of socialist production. Division of labor and production cooperation among countries play a central role among them. The theoretical elaboration of such problems is particularly important today, when the need for priority in balancing the development of sectors which can revolutionize production and sharply increase its technical standards, labor productivity and production quality is manifested most urgently.

The authors outline the process of gradual accumulation of prerequisites for a transition to a higher stage as the international socialist division of labor increases: that of economic integration. This is the first monograph to offer a study of the interconnection among reproduction processes within the socialist countries. It sums up the objective foundations for integration and describes the consequent interaction among socialist national economic complexes. In our view, the scientific study of the prospects of socialist economic integration provided in the work is of great practical value, for it could help to resolve the urgent task facing the CEMA members: Giving a new impetus and opportunities to the integration process.

The authors have made a thorough study of the system of socialist economic laws and patterns operating in the world socialist economy. They have analyzed the mechanism of their utilization within the commonwealth of fraternal countries. The analysis of the structure and nature of the mechanism of the world socialist economy enables us to earmark ways leading to its further advancement and to formulate noteworthy proposals on the collective development of a long-term target program for such advancement. The major role which the political economy of socialism is scheduled to play here is properly indicated: "To provide something more than specific recommendations, i.e., an overall concept of the economic mechanism and the basic ways leading to its advancement" (p 289).

The work offers a comprehensive study of the most important aspects of the planned regulation of the world socialist economy. For example, it describes the leading role which joint planning activities play in its economic mechanism and their basic principles and methods; it substantiates the thesis that the further advancement of the coordination of economic policy will "allow us to broaden the foundation of joint planning activities, particularly at their concluding stage -- the coordination of plans" (p 314). The book includes a study of the economic mechanism of the world socialist market and the interaction among planned methods and commodity-monetary instruments. It discusses a number of complex problems of price setting and monetary and credit relations. It provides a political-economic analysis of organizational and institutional aspects of the planned regulation of the world socialist economy and presents the common methodological principles applied in the study of international organizational-economic relations among socialist countries.

Let us note the interesting approach taken to defining the historical position of the world socialist economy, the development trends of its objective material and production foundations and subjective factors and its domestic and foreign conditions.

The monograph offers a comprehensive study of the reciprocal influence exerted by the various socioeconomic sectors within the global economy and describes the nature of relations between socialist countries and developed capitalist and developing states.

The work provides an extensive criticism of bourgeois concepts of the world socialist economy. Here again the authors have found new approaches. Unlike the traditional consideration of the positions held by individual bourgeois authors and the description of the groundlessness of their views, the emphasis is on the elaboration of initial methodological concepts and their criticism.

Two of the various problems discussed in the monograph should be singled out because of their particular theoretical significance and the fact that their further elaboration is particularly difficult and important.

The first is the internationalization of production forces in the world socialist economy and the development of international production socialization methods.

The authors consider the various aspects of the individual elements of this process: The intensification of the international division of labor, the specific effects of the law of consistency between production relations and the nature and level of development of production forces, the impact of the scientific and technical revolution on the development of the socialist commonwealth and many others. However, a fuller and deeper study of the problems of internationalization of production forces and the material foundation of the entire integration process should have been provided.

In our view, the authors should have described the nature, forms and results of scientific and technical progress within the world socialist economy, the forms of international production concentration and specialization and the possibility of developing international forms of socialist ownership.

The authors express the entirely accurate viewpoint that under contemporary conditions the development of integration processes should take place only in the form of intergovernmental relations. However, this view is hardly complete from the points of view of theory and historical perspective. Noteworthy in this respect is the further elaboration of the suggested time breakdowns for socialist economic integration (see pp 261-263): The stages in the establishment of its initial economic and organizational structure, establishment of an interrelated production structure of the integrated commonwealth ("structural" integration) and merger of the separate national economic complexes within a single economic entity. According to this breakdown, the contemporary process of internationalization of socialist reproduction, which is extensively described in the book, belongs to the second stage.

This type of approach, applied to all aspects in the development of the world socialist economy, calls for the need to determine the laws governing the socialist internationalization of production forces and production socializations and the qualitative stages of this lengthy historical process. Therefore, the very understanding of the laws and stages in shaping the material base of the world socialist economy will enable us to lay a firm

scientific foundation for the solution of the various problems related to its development, synchronize the individual elements of the integration process and coordinate them with the actual level reached by production forces and the socialization of production achieved by the socialist commonwealth. In the opposite case the danger would arise of either hastening or artificially restraining the process of rapprochement among national economies in the course of implementing integration measures.

Secondly, we would like to single out the coordination of economic interests among the members of the world socialist commonwealth, closely related to the problem we discussed. It is a central problem from the viewpoint of economic management practice and is discussed in the monograph from various sides: In relation to the study of the effect of the international division of labor and its distribution, in considering the effects of the law of planned and proportional development, in the study of setting prices and conditions governing trade within the socialist commonwealth and many others. The thought is systematically pursued of the objective possibility and need for the close coordination of the national economic interests of all members of the world socialist economy. This is the only accurate formulation of the question and could hardly be considered debatable.

However, very difficult problems frequently arise in the area of the specific coordination of economic interests. In particular, the tendency of foreign trade prices in the socialist countries to be influenced by world prices (taking correcting factors into consideration) creates certain contradictions between domestic and foreign economic value ratios and hinders the practical implementation of the principle of equivalent exchanges. The economic effect of the division of labor and the methods for its distribution can also be defined quite arbitrarily for, as the authors accurately note, "national labor differs among the individual countries in terms of quality (i.e., intensiveness, complexity and productivity), for which reason comparisons in this case are somewhat arbitrary" (p 70).

The existence of such contradictions confirms that the full implementation of the fundamental principles governing the world socialist economy depends on the level of maturity reached by socialism as a world system. Specifically, the coordination of economic interests directly depends on the level of international socialization of production, the internationalization of production forces and labor (and, therefore, of value), and the attained level of structural and economic integration. This objective process cannot be replaced by any type of account clearing methods regardless of the great significance of the latter. The close coordination of the economic interests of the socialist countries, which takes into consideration the criteria and requirements of their intraeconomic development should, in our view, be considered a fixed objective the attaining of which depends on the speed and depth of the real process of rapprochement among national economic complexes.

The purpose of the scientific analysis is properly to structure this trajectory and to coordinate it in terms of time with the level reached in the internationalization of the socialist economy. In our view, the authors must do extensive work in this direction.

Like any other original theoretical study, the monograph calls for discussing the questions it raises. The two we mentioned are only some among them. This convincingly proves its highly scientific standard and the creative approach taken by the authors to the development of the socialist political economy.

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